LABOR CHALLENGE – **1971** – **Articles** by Ross Dowson or under pseudonyms and key movement articles

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02_15th-1b (continuation) Photo: Changing patterns of EC trade will make Canada more dependent upon the US

02_15th-1c Revolutionary changes on European agenda (a socialist France would seriously alter relationship of forces with capitalist USA)

02_15th-2* Only Laxer poses left alternative (Ontario Waffle leader is socialist candidate for leader of NDP)

03_15th-1a* **LC #27** Canada, exploited by U.S. capital, itself an imperialist power; 'Independent Canada' group aims to divert anti-U.S. feeling (critique of Hurtig's Committee for an Independent Canada), by Ross Dowson

03_15th-1b* (continuation) Finance Minister Benson on the Canada Development Corporation

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05_24th-1a **LC #32** 50 years of revolutionary socialism; Canadian Trotskyists carry struggle forward (a short history), by Ross Dowson

05_24th-1b (continuation) Bankrupt program (of the CPC); Photo: LC, 1945: "There is no peace"

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05_24th-1e (context article) On to Waterloo (500 expected to gather at Socialist conference in August) Photo: Evelyn Reed (SWP)

05_24th-2 Farmers protests shake up Euromart (Belgian farmers pillage Brussels), by Ross Dowson

06_07th **LC #33** Election sweep for UK Labour (party, by Ross Dowson

07_05th-1a* **LC #35** Waffle dominates NDP conference; Socialism and independence (the issues), by Anne Macdonald

07_05th-1b* (continuation) Photo: Only solution to resources sellout is public ownership, Laxer tells NDP

08_09th-1a **LC #37** Struggle for women's rights across Europe, by Ross Dowson

08_09th-1b (continuation) The French government has attempted to blunt the protest with concessions

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08_23rd-1a **LC #38** Scots workers occupy shipyards in bold action to save their jobs, by Ross Dowson

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For a united socialist Europe

Capitalist Europe's crisis– and Canada

The following is the speech by Ross Dowson to the seminar on The Implications and Possibilities of an Economically and Politically United Europe, held at Brandon University Jan. 29-30. Other speakers were J.R. Roy, head of the commercial policy division of the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, speaking on Backgrounds and Trends, and Bruce Howard, MP, parliamentary secretary to the minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, speaking on The Implications for Canada.

To the question, what are the possibilities of an economically and politically united Europe?, I would answer, they are excellent. In fact, I would say that an economically and politically united Europe is an historical inevitability.

At the same time I would hasten to add that this unity will not take place and cannot take place on the basis of some kind of integration of the present capitalist states, through a process of developing experiments such as the European Coal and Steel Community, Euratom, or the European Economic Community, and the Common Market. It will take place only with the overthrow of capitalism and the formation of a Socialist United States of Europe.

The unification of Europe is necessary. The underlying cause of World War I was the fact that the capitalist forces of production, in particular those of Germany, had outgrown the boundaries of the European national states. Europe could not develop economically, even 60 years ago, with all the restrictive customs and duties, the copyrights and the patents, the price differentials and so forth, sustained by the multiplicity of national states. It could not do so in the twenties, following its Balkanization by the victors of World War I at Versailles. Nor could it do so in the forties, following World War II and its re-Balkanization by the victors at Yalta and Potsdam.

If this necessity for a united Europe was once illustrated by the need to unite the coal of the Ruhr with the iron of Lorraine, today it is even more vividly expressed by the separation of vital means of production

Ross Dowson

from the human labor power essential to their operation. Hundreds of thousands of Italians, Yugoslavs, Spaniards and Portuguese, under pressure to sustain their families, are driven from their homelands to seek employment in Germany and Switzerland. There they live like pariahs, subject to the tyrannies of the modern production line, layoffs and mass unemployment.

Following the devastation of World War II, with massive aid from the United States, European capitalism was reestablished and underwent a period of rapid economic growth.

Leading European industrialists and financiers, through their political representatives, set in motion a process of capitalist unification of Europe. They aimed to overcome at least the sharpest contradictions between the operations of their business holdings and the anachronistic existence of a multiplicity of bourgeois national states. They aimed to develop on a pan-European scale a unified home market such as their U.S. counterparts possess on the North American continent. Along with a whole series of immediate projections such as the European Coal and Steel Community, Euratom, and the Common Market, there was even talk of setting up a European government with real powers, with political authority and a common currency.

Where a decade ago there were high hopes and great expectations for a United Europe the prevailing mood today is one of disillusionment, frustration and cynicism. The European Coal and Steel Community, unable to meet the structural crisis which first hit coal and then the steel industry, is bankrupt. Euratom is now moribund. What remains is the Common Market, wracked with internal dissension but into which Britain is now preparing to enter.

The fundamental cause of this change lies in the growing social crisis and the slowing down of economic growth of the past few years, the rise in structural unemployment, particularly among the youth, the crisis in the world monetary system, and the pressure which all these factors exercise on the capitalists in all European countries.

The Common Market itself, rather than a factor in the process of realizing a dynamic European unification, has become much more an attempt to stave off U.S. domination — at best to arrive at a successful economic competition with U.S. capitalism which has made big inroads into the European market.

Having put capitalism back on its feet in Europe, the U.S. monopolists have been driven by their vast accumulation of surpluses of capital, and a tremendous glut of goods pouring off their production lines, to move into the European market on a big scale. The annual sum invested by U.S. companies in those countries now in the Common Market increased four-fold from 1958 to 1965. In Switzerland, for example, U.S. investment, a mere $25-million in 1950, by 1966 had risen to $1,210-million. The total value of U.S. investment in Europe in 1966 was $17.5-billion. U.S. subsidiaries now control 80 percent of Common Market computer production, 24

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percent of the motor industry, 15 percent of synthetic rubber production and 10 percent of the petrochemical industry.

Even the powerful European multinational corporations that have been formed through the interpenetration of European capital, without the capitalists of any particular nation predominating, cannot match the capital reserves of the U.S. corporations, nor U.S. technology. Their major advantage is lower relative abor costs, and the crisis is leading them o resort to deflationary policies and to nti-union legislation in order to counteract the falling rate of profit and the lecline in their share of exports on the vorld market.

The fact that the present deepening risis of European capitalism does not coincide with a severe slump or even a generalized recession only underlines the incapacity of the system to resolve its basic contradictions.

For the fact is that even under such relatively favorable conditions of economic development, the elements of social crisis and social revolution have come to the surface once again in Europe; and the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction arising out of private property and wage labor, has been posed with a sharpness that has not been seen there in many decades.

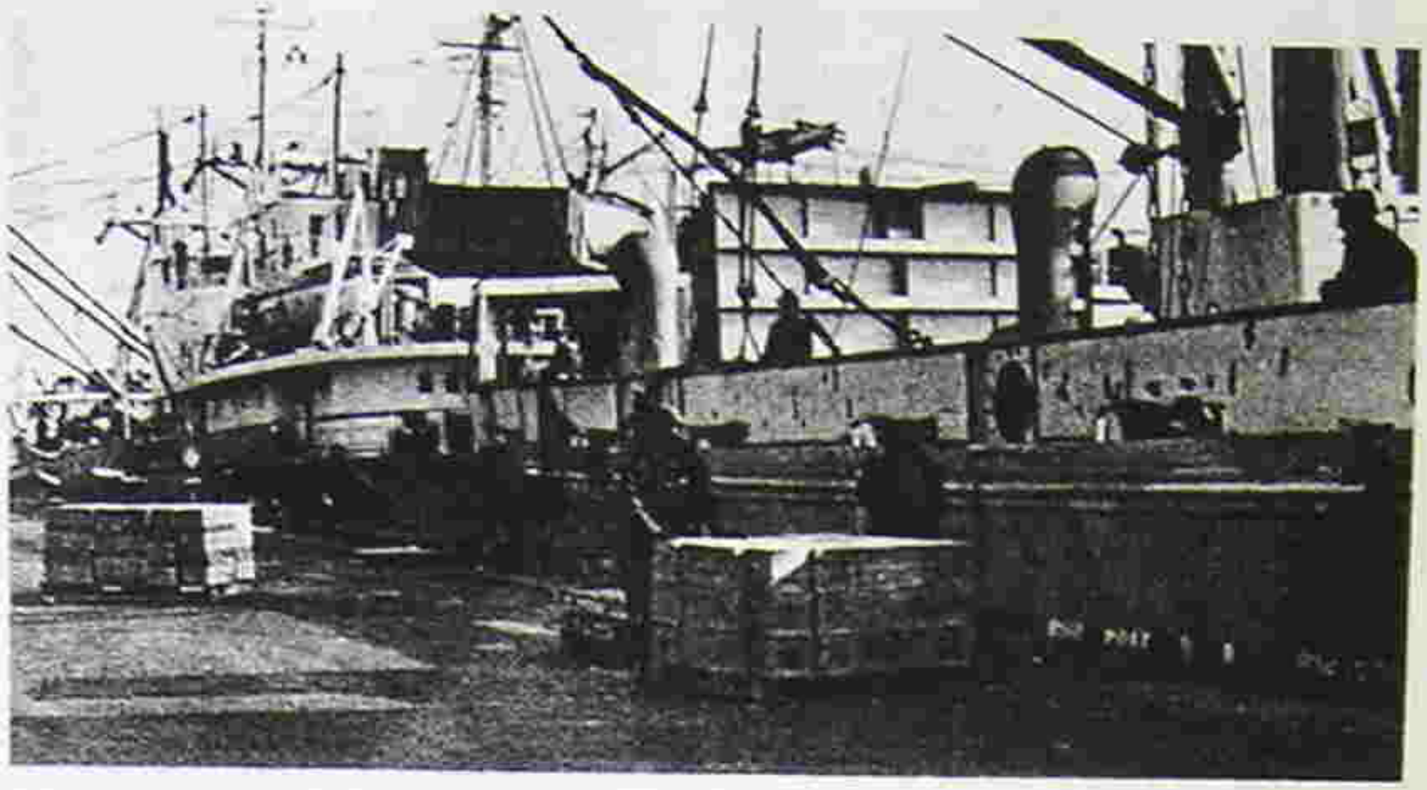
The clearest expression of the crisis so far was the revolutionary upsurge in France in May 1968. Sparked by the students, it culminated in the most massive general strike in world history with hundreds of thousands of workers occupying the factories.

In Italy buffeted by strike wave after strike wave, parliamentary democracy is in a state of paralysis and if the parties of the left have failed to give direction one can nonetheless only conclude that the country is approaching a pre-revolutionary condition.

In Spain the harsh repression employed by the decaying Franco regime no longer blocks the workers, students and oppressed nationalities from struggle, and even stirs them up. Britain, see-sawing between a reformist Labor regime and a Conservative regime for the past two decades, finds the working class once again in militant trade union struggle.

It is these forces, the organized might of the European working class, joined by the revolutionary youth, who are destined to bring about an economically and politically united Europe. This process will commence through a victory in one country and through example will spread throughout Europe to result in the creation of a socialist united states of Europe.

The alternative to a socialist Europe is not a peaceful evolution, but the triumph of reaction which could eventually lead to fascism. In the last analysis what blocks the old ruling classes of Europe from attempting a coup such as in Greece is only the relationship of forces between the workers and the capitalist class and the fear among the latter that to set up a strong state would ignite a massive counter-move by the working class.



CHANGING PATTERNS. Cargo ship from England unloads at Toronto. Britain's impending entry into European Common Market may cut into trade with Canada, its second largest customer — and increase Canada's dependence on the U.S. market.

Before taking up the second aspect of the question before us, the implications of a socialist Europe for the Canadian working people, I would make a few observations on Britain's entry into the Common Market and its impact on Canada.

Now saddled with a relatively run-down industrial plant, Britain can no longer profitably compete in the neo-colonial world against the United States and Japan. What was, as the British Empire, a primary source of wealth and power, has now, as the Commonwealth, become a drain on the shrinking British treasury. **Hence Prime Minister Heath's refusal to** renounce his government's intention to sell arms to apartheid South Africa, in the face of threats that should it do so the Commonwealth would disintegrate. The Heath government has apparently made its choice.

What effect will this have on Canada? Britain, after the United States, is Canada's biggest customer. Of the $1.2-billion worth of goods that were shipped to her from Canada in 1968, Britain accepted 90 percent duty free. Almost half enjoyed tariff preference over goods coming from the U.S., Japan and the Common Market. According to an article in Financial Post, with Britain's entry into the Common Market only a fourth of these Canadian exports would suffer no direct effect. Some 30 percent would not only lose free entry status but would be up against EEC preferences. These include wheat, newsprint, aluminum, and wood pulp. Some 25 percent would lose free entry status and would face reverse EEC preferences.

This would cost Canadian commercial interests something. But it is not excluded that they see the deepening British crisis as threatening the entire international trade and monetary fabric and, if getting into the Common Market would solve Britain's problem, they are prepared to pay the price. After all, while Ottawa has the public purse strings tied tight on welfare for the unemployed they are loose for the granting of subsidies to business interests in trouble. Besides the Canadian capitalist class might hope that Britain, rather than stepping behind the Common Market tariff wall, may succeed, if only to a limited degree, in opening it up — to them.

But the immediate impact of British entry would be to thrust Canadian trade more into the U.S. market — to make Canada even more dependent than it is now on its relations with the U.S. State Department. From the record of the Liberal and Tory governments over the past decade or so, that means further losses for the Canadian people in whatever control they have now over the country's natural resources, over its economy, and a further crippling of what little sovereignty Canada has left. It would tend to drive Canada more into the area of trade with Japan. That trade, already extensive, is almost exclusively in the form of unprocessed materials, largely lumber, coal copper and iron ore.

Hence Britain's entry into the Common Market only serves to increase U.S. monopoly capital's economic domination of Canada and tends to make her role in world affairs, certainly under Liberal and Progressive Conservative governments, ever more subservient to these reactionary interests. As Mr. Trudeau explained to a press conference in Jakarta — any serious opposition to Washington's foreign policy, to his mind, "would not be tolerated and would not make any sense."

Mr. Trudeau proved to be a bold and vigorous man when confronted last October by the actions of a handful of terrorists. He imposed the War Measures Act which at one blow suspended the most elementary rights of every Canadian. But when it comes to relations with the U.S. military-industrial complex, Mr. Trudeau and the Canadian capitalist class have accepted the role of junior partner of the U.S. ruling class in the exploitation of this

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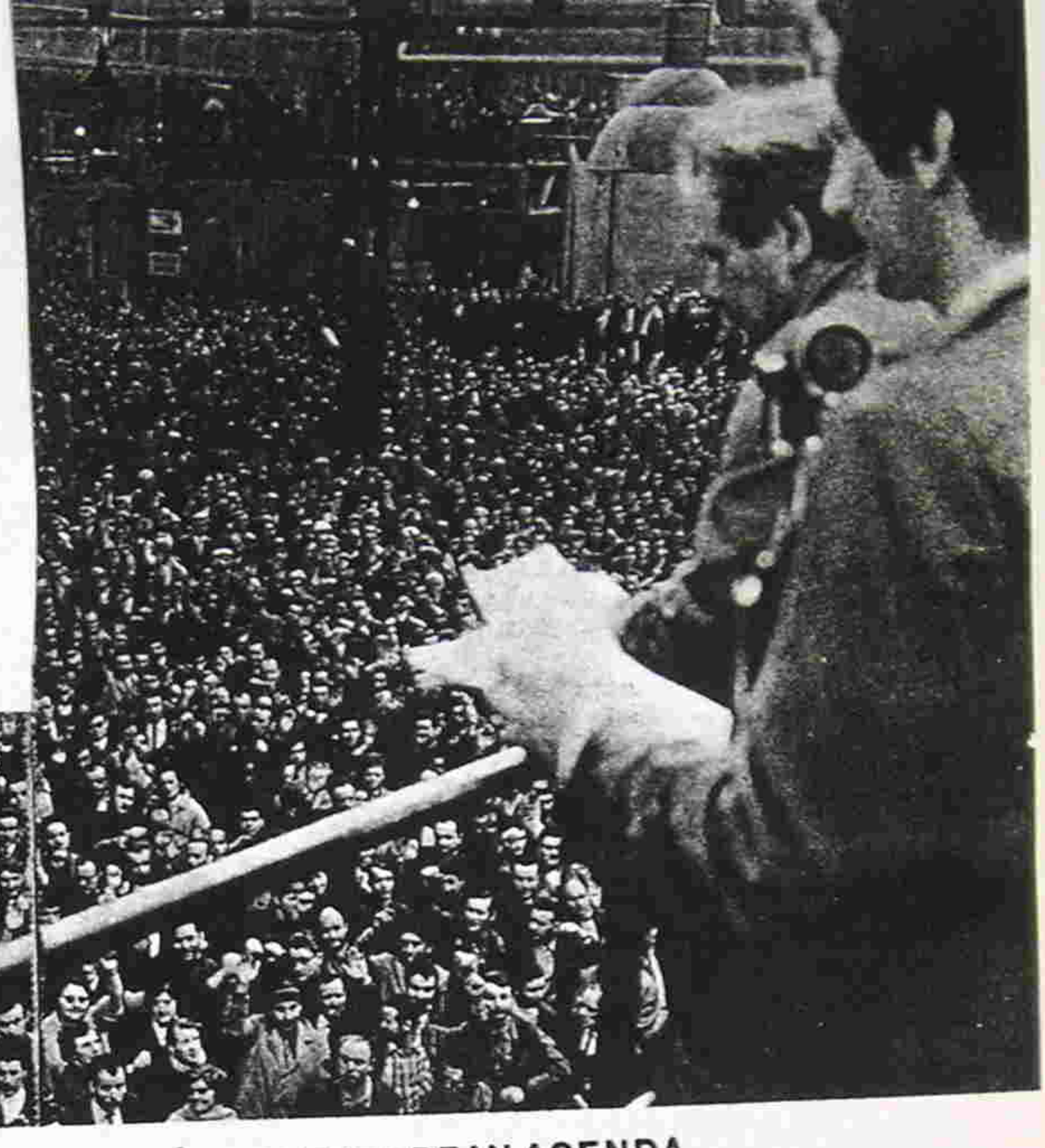
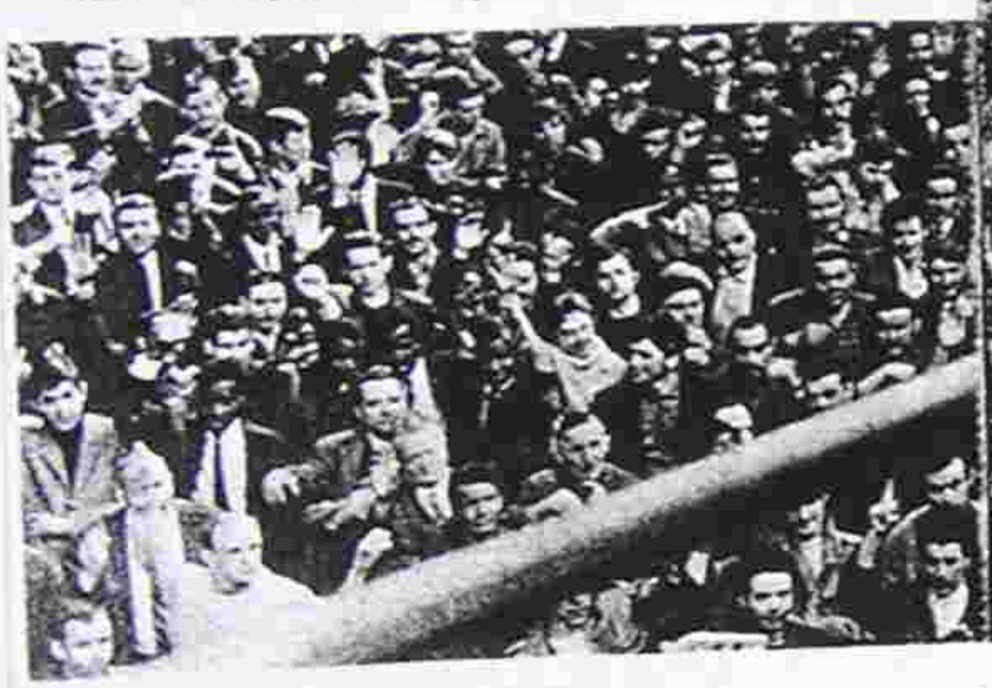
country's natural resources and the skills of her work force, and serve as abject apologists for its world-wide offensive and exploitative rule.

Mr. Trudeau defends this shameful role as it there were no alternative — with the underlying suggestion that it is imposed upon us and any opposition would not be tolerated.

But there are growing numbers of people across Canada who think there is an alternative — who want Canada to play an independent role in opposition to the policies of the U.S. They want Canada to break from such aggressive military nuclear-armed alliances as NATO-NORAD, which compromise their good name by propping up such oppressive military regimes as the Greek and the Portuguese. They want Canada to condemn sharply U.S. aggression in Vietnam





REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES ON EUROPEAN AGENDA

Revolutionary potential of European workers was reaffirmed in May, 1968, when 10 million French workers went on strike, hundreds of thousands of them occupying their plants, in a vast upsurge that brought France to verge of revolution. Above, Renault workers meet in occupied factory. A socialist France, Ross Dowson argues on this page, would be a stepping stone to socialist United States of Europe, seriously altering world relation of forces against North American capitalism.

and Cambodia and cease supplying military equipment for such purposes. They see no reason why plants and mills owned by U.S. interests should be prohibited from shipping goods to Cuba or China by made-in-Washington regulations, because they are said to have a military or strategic importance.

They do not see why U.S. corporations should be allowed to close down plants they have bought up because they lower the profit level of a newly-formed conglomerate. They think that they should be taken over, retooled if necessary, for the production of marketable goods, and operated under the control of those who work there.

Mr. Trudeau's suggestion that Washington would not tolerate such a policy fails to take into account the feelings of the American people who are by no means united behind Nixon and in increasing numbers are demanding an end to his war in Vietnam. It is to say that we Canadians are lesser people than the Cubans and the Vietnamese who have been standing up before U.S. imperialism — and in the case of the Vietnamese for decades, in the face of the most fiendish forces of death and destruction.

Which brings me to the implications of an economically and politically united Europe — as I see it, a United Socialist States of Europe — for the people of Canada.

A victory for socialism would greatly stimulate the struggle here in Canada for a new, a socialist Canada, and the struggle for socialism throughout the West and the Third World. At the same time it would further stimulate the rising struggle for genuine socialist democracy in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

The brutal and oppressive regime that imposed itself on the isolated and backward workers state in Russia, its abrogation of basic political rights, its suppression of entire nationalities and their culture, has brought widespread doubts and discredit on the entire concept of socialism.

The socialism that will arise in the advanced industrial countries of Western Europe will present a completely different physiognomy to the world.

Social planning will develop on a continental scale, thereby permitting a rapid growth of productive forces through the elimination of present-day duplication and waste. It will utilize all existing resources and end the unemployment of people and the underemployment of equipment. It will mean the rapid dissemination of technological progress and scientific knowledge throughout the whole economy.

It will also mean that the use of all resources will be democratically determined by the mass of workers organized in democratically elected self-management workers councils in the plants and on a local, regional, national and international level.

This socialism will broaden the realm of human freedom not only for the workers as a class, but for everyone who works, far beyond anything even visualized by humankind.

We Canadians will have to ensure that nothing is allowed to stand in the way of the free development of a socialist United States of Europe, and to ensure that all our resources, should they be called upon, are fully available to aid in its success.

Only Laxer poses left alternative

by Anne Macdonald

TORONTO — There are five candidates contesting the leadership of the federal New Democratic Party, but only one is speaking to the major issues with a program which, if adopted, would mark an important advance in party policy.

This was revealed at the first of a score of cross-country all-candidates meetings, held here Feb. 3. Jim Laxer, candidate of the "Waffle" left-wing grouping in the NDP, was the only speaker to go beyond "patch-up-capitalism" proposals of his rivals, to pose the necessity and validity of public ownership as key instrument in breaking Canada from the economic problems caused by foreign capitalist control of the economy.

The Waffle group's strong left-wing alternative on this and other issues such as Quebec and women's liberation provoked criticism and even sharp attack from other candidates, and wide interest among the over 300 Toronto-area NDP activists who attended the meeting.

The other four candidates are MPs Ed Broadbent (Oshawa), Frank Howard (Skeena, B.C.), and David Lewis (Toronto), and John Harney, former provincial secretary of the Ontario NDP.

Only Howard chose to attack the Waffle group frontally, as he has done in several public statements. He bitterly denounced the Waffle, claiming it divided the party and the country, particularly in its support of Quebec self-determination. The Waffle, he charged, is "establishing by noise what it cannot substantiate by reason." Boos and hisses from the floor indicated that his views are not widely shared, however.

Laxer replied that unity of the party would best be achieved through a thorough debate within the party on how best to achieve "democratic socialism." This, he said, was the aim of the Waffle.

But clearly it was the four right-wing candidates who were on the defensive. All felt obliged to deal with ideas and policy, to avoid appearing completely bankrupt. John Harney, for example, talked about "a new kind of socialism" with a "certain degree' of public ownership of financial institutions. But he, like the others, who confined their comments to one or two issues, failed to present anything resembling a worked-out platform.

Only Harney agreed with Laxer that women should receive 50 percent representation on the leading bodies of the party. None of the candidates, incidentally, mentioned women's liberation in their initial speeches; it was left to the audience to raise.

While Laxer failed in several aspects to explain adequately the Waffle alternative, the Waffle group's positions on all the key issues have already become so widely known in the party that discussion tends to center around them anyway.

This is the first time since the founding convention in 1961 that the federal leadership has been contested. It is also the first serious Waffle campaign to confront the party as an organized force presenting not just a developed alternative program but an alternative candidate for the top leadership. The Waffle is building on the very valuable experience gained in last year's campaign behind Don Mitchell for the Saskatchewan leadership.

The Waffle group is now releasing the position papers developed during past months in meetings across the country. They include demands for "public ownership of all major corporations in the manufacturing, resources, financial, transportation and commodity distribution sectors of the economy" as the NDP's "long-term goal," and "immediate nationalization of resource industries and financial institutions, including banks and trust companies."

The Waffle can develop the potential of this campaign a great deal further, by using the Laxer campaign to popularize its program, by picking up immediate issues of public concern such as unemployment, plant closures, and foreign policy, to explain even more clearly the alternative it offers to the present right wing leadership.

photo by White

SOCIALIST CANDIDATE FOR NDP LEADERSHIP, Jim Laxer urges NDP to adopt Waffle program of support for Quebec self-determination, public ownership and women's liberation. Among other candidates are David Lewis (left) and Ed Broadbent.

labor Challenge

Canada, exploited by U.S. capito itself an imperialist power

'Independent Canada' group aims to divert anti-U.S. feeling

by Ross Dowson

The following article is based on a speech delivered by Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, on Feb. 1 at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. One of a series on Canadian nationalism, it had been preceded by an address by Mel Hurtig, well-known Edmonton Liberal and publicist, on behalf of the Committee for an Independent Canada.

The U.S. takeover of the commanding heights of the Canadian economy has become in the past several months the most talked-about question in Canadian cultural and political life.

Only a short while ago, Ontario Premier Robarts peremptorily declared it to be a phony issue, and was joined by a key cabinet minister who denounced those expressing concern over this matter as a pack of yahoos and economic illiterates.

But in the current scramble for Mr. Robart's mantle, his cabinet ministers are unanimous in their agreement that foreign ownership is the number one issue. It has even been established as a subject worthy of a Gallup poll. And now the Committee for an Independent Canada, headed by former Liberal Finance Minister Walter Gordon, the country's most prominent publisher, J.G. McClelland, and the editor of Le Devoir, Claude Ryan, is stumping Western Canada's universities.

The scope of the takeovers of Canadian industrial and financial institutions is so vast and is continuing at such an accelerating pace that it can no longer be ignored.

When the current phasing out and closures by U.S. corporations of Canadian operations that no longer profitably fit into their conglomerate structure adds to the already scandalous and growing ranks of unemployed across Canada; and when the United Church sells out Ryerson Press, thereby placing the publication of English-Canadian school texts in the hands of the most blatantly racist, imperialist warmongering U.S. textbook publishers — what all this means can no longer be shoved aside.

There is now such a flood of factual and statistical data on the U.S. capitalist takeover of Canadian natural resources and industrial plant that I will not take up any of the limited time at my disposal to go over it or attempt to add anything new — all the more in that Mr. Hurtig no doubt dealt with this in some scope.

There is one important aspect of the whole question, however, that NDP leader T.C. Douglas has recently brought to our attention. Not only are an increasing number of Canadian-owned plants being taken over by U.S. corporations but, despite the latters' great accumulated wealth, they are taking them over with less and less of their own funds and increasingly with funds actually raised here in Canada. According to Douglas, some 94 percent of the investment by U.S. subsidiaries in Canada is effected with Canadian funds.

This has now been affirmed by a survey made by a U.S. government economist and published in the November issue of a U.S. Department of Commerce publication, Survey of Current Business.

This survey reveals that U.S. companies operating in Canada in 1968 actually received more Canadian funds than they invested. U.S.-owned companies operating in Canada in mining, smelting, petroleum, and manufacturing industries had $2.6 billion available to them in 1968 — $1.9 billion from Canadian sources. Their total investment in that year amounted to $1.4 billion with only $127 million of it coming from the parent company in the U.S. or other U.S. financial institutions.

Thus we have U.S. capital playing the most cynical, piratical role, the classical imperialist role, in relations to Canada. It is buying up Canada with Canada's own accumulated wealth!

Perhaps that is not so new — after all why should imperialism conduct itself in any way differently with Canada than it does with the so-called underdeveloped sectors of the globe?

What is new with regard to the whole matter of the U.S. takeover of the Canadian economy is this: the debate has moved off the plane of viewing with alarm, onto the plane of what is to be done about it!

Even the Progressive Conservatives, who up until recently have said that the U.S. corporate takeovers are a non-issue, are now talking solutions. Their policy adds up to a strengthening of Canadian capitalism: more tax incentives to Canadian investors in Canadian companies, and more government loans and grants to Canadian firms — open up the public treasury.

This policy, even were it to be extended as the Tories want, has done nothing to even slow down, let alone stop the U.S. corporate takeover.

The Canadian capitalist class has shown not the slightest tendency to resist. On the contrary, in its own insatiable search for profits it has even sought out takeover bids, either to become part of the U.S. corporate structure or to invest elsewhere on even more profitable terms. Since it doesn't have the means to resist it seeks the best terms and completely identifies its future with the long range interests of U.S. corporate power.

As for the Liberals — they are in power in Ottawa and have only now, after more than seven years of talking about it, presented the legislation for the Canada Development Corporation.

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Finance Minister Benson has clearly defined what the CDC is not. It will not aim at buying back companies that have already been taken over. And it will not be a last resort buyer to block a Canadian company from being taken over.

So while the bill says that it is to help develop and maintain Canadian control, that is just so much facade. To sustain the facade the shares of this profit-oriented investment company can only be sold to Canadians, with no individual having more than 3 percent of outstanding shares.

Mr. Benson has vigorously denied that the Corporation has anything to do with the struggle against what he calls the multinational corporation (a term now being used to hide the obvious fact that the takeovers are almost entirely U.S., the imperialist character of which is becoming ever more clearly understood) but is on the contrary to function as an aid to help make Canadian companies themselves into multinational (imperialist?) corporations.

How CDC will play this role is not yet clear but one thing about CDC is very clear. It is also designed to achieve what the Canadian capitalist class have sought for many years — to remove from public ownership the highly successful Polymer Corporation which will be taken over by CDC and placed in the hands of the government-appointed big business heads who will control CDC.

Walter Gordon has expressed his pleasure that Ottawa has at long last introduced the Canada Development Corporation with which his name has been associated for so many years.

In the meantime the committee of which he is honorary chairman, the Committee for an Independent Canada, through speaking tours by Mr. Gordon and such well-known associates as J.G. McClelland, Mel Hurtig and Professor Abraham Rotstein is carrying on a great flurry of widely publicized activities around the question of U.S. takeovers.

This committee, with its list of eminent and respectable sponsors, has been dubbed by one punster the Company of Old Canadians. Its declared aim is to sign up 100,000 Canadians behind it for the somewhat vague purpose of helping "governments move in certain directions somewhat faster," and "to encourage greater Canadian participation in the autonomous growth of the country."

Its real aim, despite what some of its individual sponsors may hope to achieve, is to divert and to defuse the rising opposition to U.S. corporate takeovers which has revealed a strong tendency to develop along anti-Canadian capitalist and pro-socialist lines.

The committee boasts of the broad spectrum of Liberal, Tory, and unfortunately also NDP sponsors — Bruce Lawson, a former editor of the Ontario NDP press and NDP and Steelworkers leader Eamon Park. Through its seduction of Lawson and Park in particular, the committee hopes to remove the whole issue from the political arena, to make it a non-party issue, to deprive the NDP of the issue. Specifically it is aimed against the left-wing Waffle around Melville Watkins, which has correctly seized the challenge and responded that there can be no independent Canada that is not socialist.

Professor Rotstein reveals this aim very clearly in his review of one of the many books now appearing on the question. He of course puts it in personal, not political terms. After noting that "Mel Watkins emerged out of the vacuum left by the departure of Gordon from the political scene" and has "entered the imagination of the country" as the debate moves into the Seventies, he closes, "What we don't need is a repetition of the Sixties with Watkins replacing Gordon."

Within the broad function of the Committee for an Independent Canada the various individuals have their own purposes in supporting it. Le Devoir editor Claude Ryan, an opponent of the rising independentist forces in Quebec, has expressed the hope that the committee will be a rational alternative to Quebec separatism. "The federalist in Quebec," he notes, "has to do something. He can't sit around all the time answering his opponents. He must do something constructive."

A persistently high priority in Mr. Gordon's many speeches is his opposition to public ownership and his manipulation of anti-U.S. sentiments to attack the unity that exists between Canadian and U.S. trade unionists organized in international unions. Mr. Gordon has persistently opposed wage parity between U.S. and Canadian workers. He attempts to present it as nothing but a plot of top U.S. union leaders to deprive Canadian industrialists of the better competitive position that lower wages would put them in, and which Canadian workers should of course accept, in "the national interest."

There are two questions that are con-

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Socialism– the key to independence

Continued from page 7

sistently missing in the debate on U.S. ownership. They are consciously hidden by such elements as constitute the Committee for an Independent Canada because of the obvious conclusions that flow from them, and neglected by many on the left at the cost of not rounding out their argument and not pulling together all the forces that belong on their side.

Not only are Canadian business heads a developed class with interests of their own completely separate from and in conflict with the interest of the workers. They are imperialist, if on a more modest scale, nonetheless in the same sense as the U.S. capitalist class. The Anglo-Canadian capitalist class who control the Canadian state apparatus and share with U.S. capitalism in the exploitation of the northern sector of the North American continent possess an internal colony in Quebec and participate with the U.S. in the imperialist exploitation of the West Indies and Latin America.

Thus Canada is both exploited and an exploiter. Energy Minister J.J. Greene put it this way a few days ago in justifying what he said was a policy of "sitting out" but what was in reality sitting on the side of the big oil corporations in their dispute with the major oil producers in the Middle East. "As so often in Canadian affairs," he said, "we are on both sides at the same time."

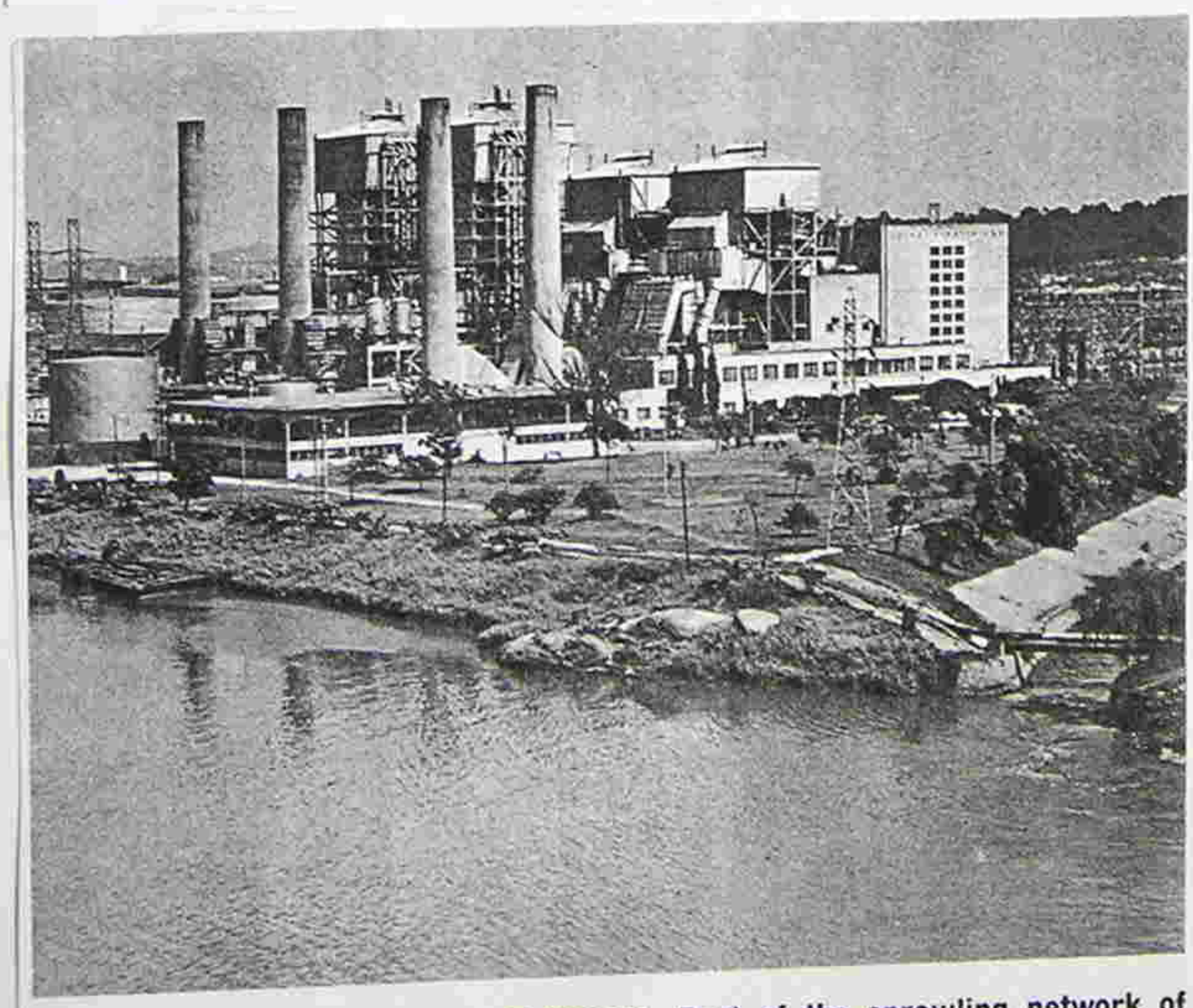
When Canadian "nationalists" protest the exploitation and cultural genocide of Canada by the U.S., they fail to define the enemy (capitalism) a failure which always makes it difficult to fight him. They overlook key allies in the struggle if they do not identify with the struggle for an independent Quebec and the anti-imperialist struggle of the West Indians and Latin Americans.

Mr. Gordon himself was linked, through his accountants' firm, with the largest single imperialist investment in Latin America, Brascan (formerly Brazilian Light and Power), a Canadian-controlled corporation. The present Minister of External Affairs Mitchell Sharp was for many years on the Brascan board of directors.

The Royal Bank of Canada, which plays a dominating role in the West Indies economy, is larger than any single bank in Germany or Japan and would rank second in Britain, and seventh in the U.S. The Canadian Pacific Railway is bigger than Mitsubishi, Krupp or Hawker-Siddeley.

The rising opposition to the U.S. takeover of Canada not accidently finds its political expression in the labor party formation, the NDP, and not accidently in the NDP's left wing.

The only independent Canada, independent of U.S. imperialism, is a socialist Canada. To put that in meaningful terms today, that can mobilize large layers of the population into action in order to win it, is to demand full production, to demand jobs. Open up the Saskatchewan potash mines. Repeal the Saskatchewan Liberal government's price-fixing at the behest of the giant U.S. chemical corporations and sell the potash through the cooperatives at cost to the farmers. Stop the plant closures, the phasing out of Canadian plants, on the decision of their profitability to U.S. corporate heads. Place them under public ownership, retool them if necessary, to produce needed goods, under the control of the workers.



CANADIAN IMPERIALISM AT WORK. Part of the sprawling network of Brascan in Brazil, the Piratininga Steam Plant — Light S.A. "Nationalism" of Canadian businessmen like Walter Gordon — formerly linked with Brascan — seeks to divert growing anti-imperialist feeling among Canadians.

labor Challenge

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Despite setback of postal workers

British labor protest on r

by Ross Dowson

MARCH 5 — Yesterday the executive council of the British postal workers union appealed to their 220,000 members who had been on strike for some 44 days in the longest national stoppage since World War II, to go back to work.

Over the weekend the postmen, counter clerks, sorters, and telephonists who went on their first national strike with high hopes of forcing the Post Office Board into conceding more than their 8 percent final offer will decide through a ballot vote. The Heath government is counting heavily on a yes vote for the deal that postal officials and the union brass cooked up which would get the workers back on the job and wait out for a binding settlement to be handed down by a non-government board of enquiry.

There is far more involved than untangling the country's mail and telecommunications services. The government is hoping that the postal settlement will begin to turn back the tide of rising union demands and block the mounting movement against its proposed union-busting Industrial Relations Bill.

There is no mistaking where the British working class stands on the Tory government's projected bill. Nearly 140,000 (the police concede that there were at least 100,000) registered their opposition Sunday Feb. 21 in the biggest organized demonstration ever held in Britain.

Even as the government succeeded in driving the leadership of the postal workers into capitulating it was given a sharp rebuff by the 50,000 Ford workers who are on strike in some 22 different plants. Fifteen unions rejected, after another 10-hour marathon bout of negotiations, an improved pay offer of 14.2 percent that would have conceded hourly paid workers an average earnings increase of 4 pounds 10 shillings a week — well over the limit that the government has tried to clamp down on the unions.

And even should the postal workers go back — how will this be understood by the

British workers confront Tory government's antilabor bill.

rest of British labor? Will they see it as a defeat that will sap their own energies and undermine their capacity to struggle, or, on the contrary, will it arouse their sense of injustice, cause them to question the entire trade union leadership, increase their own self-reliance and goad them into heightened action?

Only four days ago, on Monday, the British workers as a class took a giant step forward in a mighty demonstration of protest and determination to defeat the government's anti-labor bill. More than 1,500,000 workers downed tools in the biggest political stoppage since the General Strike of 1926.

Their demonstration, backed by the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, the Boilermakers, the Sheet Metal Workers and joined by Mersey dockworkers and members of the Transport and General Workers Union (which was not party to the strike call), shut down the entire motor industry, Scottish shipyards and all major steel plants. Thousands more operations were closed down when members of the engineers union walked out and other employees refused to cross AUEW picket lines. Fort Dunlop, Europe's biggest tire factory had to lay off 3,000 workers when 1,400 engineers stopped. No national papers appeared.

Some 2,000 London engineers marched

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past Congress House shouting "general strike," and inviting those inside to join them at Hyde Park. There they were addressed by the north London district organizer who told them "regardless of what the Trades Union Congress General Council says, let us fight every foot of the way to protect our freedoms. We must confront the government with the ultimatum that if they do not change course there will be a national stoppage." A Labour party MP added; "There is a time when the talking has to stop. We are speaking the language the Tories understand when we walk off the job on a working day."

On every count the March 1 stoppage — a building action for March 18 — was a colossal success. The coming March 18 demonstration is geared to coincide with the special assembly of the Trades Union Congress being held at Croydon to decide the overall strategy of the organized labor movement.

The lines are now being drawn.

The 1.6 million strong Transport and General Workers Union has thrown its weight behind the mounting pressure on the TUC for strike action. By a vote of 38 to 1 its general executive decided to reject the official report of the TUC General Council where it opposes any industrial action against the bill. General Secretary Jack Jones declared that "we want a strike of unions against registration. Anyone registering should be considered a scab or blackleg." The general executive also recommended to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions that it should support the March 18 strike.

The leaders of the third largest union, the General and Municipal Workers, are supporting the line of the TUC General Council headed by Victor Feather, that the strike actions only serve to alienate the broad general public without making the government modify the bill. This position of conciliation and retreat before the opponents of labor has the support of the top brass of the parliamentary Labour party. The National Council of Labour, composed of the leadership of the TUC, the Labour party and the Co-operative Union has gone on record as urging everyone "to concentrate behind" what they call their "positive leadership."

Hugh Scanlon, president of the AUEW, told his union's youth conference at Eastbourne yesterday that millions of workers are looking to the TUC to lead the struggle against the Industrial Relations Bill. Monday's stoppage, he said, has shown the country the type of lead that it wants. After repeating his invitation to other unions to join the second one-day strike on March 18 he assured the delegates that the AUEW would not be deterred from their "democratic mandate" for further action.

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#29 - April 12, 1971

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Mass strikes hit British antilabor law

by Ross Dowson

A regular contributor to Labor Challenge, Ross Dowson is now resident in Europe.

MARCH 25 — Yesterday the Heath government moved the third reading of its hotly contested Industrial Relations Bill, which sharply limits the right to strike and opens the unions to a host of new forms of legal prosecution.

Just one week earlier the special assembly of the Trades Union Congress narrowly voted down a powerful block of unionists who fought to win it to a policy of general strike action to block passage of the bill.

By an even smaller margin the Congress defeated the demand that all unions should refuse to register under the bill should it become law.

The Labour party MPs attempted to talk out the third reading of the bill, but after 63 votes and a 21 hour and 41 minute non-stop sitting the Tory majority carried the vote. The bill now goes on to the House of Lords, thence to become law.

Having won, the Secretary of State for Employment Robert Carr was far from jubilant. "Any employer," he warned the boards of directors and top management, "who imagines this bill will remove problems and reduce responsibility is greatly mistaken."

The bill "will provide pressures and incentives which will inform and change opinion, will provide the climate, will give employers a better change, a more favorable environment. . ." But, he said, "responsibility is yours."

Such sobriety in victory is easy to understand, for the Tories have won what they must themselves sense has many elements of being an empty, a Pyrrhic victory.

The mere passage of this bill, not to speak of its enforcement, has tremendously heightened the unity of labor. It has forced the right-wing Labour party shadow cabinet to lead a strong fight in the house against it behind an opposition campaign that the Trades Union Congress (TUC) brass have been reluctantly driven into.

And it has thrust millions of workers into massive industrial actions the scope and militancy of which have not been seen in Britain since the great General Strike of 1926 — thus preparing the grounds for the creation of a new leadership.

The Feb. 21 protest called by the TUC leadership itself saw nearly 140,000 register their opposition to the bill in Trafalgar Square in the biggest organized demonstration ever seen in Britain. Almost 1½ million workers across the country downed tools on March 1.

This in turn was surpassed by the March 18 one-day strike against the bill, which brought out "possibly two million workers," according to the staid London Times.

The outcome of the vote at the special March 18 Trades Union Congress in Croydon was as expected. The blocks of votes held by those union heads who had opposed the two political strikes already gave the Victor Feather leadership a majority.

There is no doubt that the broad and vocal opposition at the congress expressed the desires and the mood of an evergrowing number of British workers. It is improbable that, with the passage of the bill, there will be even a temporary lull in the rising militancy of the British workers.

While the government succeeded in driving the postal workers back on the job and into arbitration after refusing to concede more than an 8-percent increase unless there were productivity concessions, it has since granted 140,000 civil servants an 8.5 to 13 percent increase, and the Post Office Executive Engineers an arbitration award of 14.8 percent.

The strategically-situated locomotive men's union will as of midnight April 4 launch a non-cooperation campaign on the job to back up its refusal of a 9-percent wage offer. The National Union of Teachers, backing up their demand for a 15-percent increase, lobbied the government March 18 and gave 70,000 London students a half-day off. Some 50,000 Ford Workers in 26 plants, their ranks solid, are now in their 52nd day of strike. Some 30,000 Vauxhall workers are demanding parity with the best-paid — in their case a 14-percent basic pay raise.

While the Heath government is attempting to provide the British capitalist class with a suitable climate to unify and embolden them, to permit them to hogtie the unions and intimidate the workers, there are other powerful forces at work that drive the workers to renewed struggle.

In February the general index of retail prices rose to a new peak.

Average rents for council houses have risen 9.2 percent in the last year, 12.4 percent in London.

Adding to the feeling of insecurity looming over all is the rising threat of unemployment. It is now conceded that there are at least three quarters of a million unemployed — the highest number since World War II.

Henry Ford, following his recent luncheon with Prime Minister Heath at 10 Downing St., indicated in a press interview that his real complaint against the British workers was their tendency to sudden wildcat strikes. Challenged about the strike record of U.S. workers he admitted "we do (have more strikes) but we pretty well know when they are going to happen."

"There is no stability in Britain," he said.

labor Challenge #30 – April 26, 1971

photo by White

NDP'S WAFFLE GROUP has played important role in getting party to mobilize outside parliament in mass actions around popular issues. Above, Waffle demonstration in Toronto against energy resources sellout to U.S. monopolists.

Attacks on the Waffle reflect its popularity

by Dick Fidler and Anne Macdonald

David Lewis denounces it as "extreme," "dangerous nonsense." Frank Howard has called for its dissolution. John Harney and Ed Broadbent have many times repudiated its program.

Whatever their own differences, the four right-wing candidates for the NDP leadership are united on one thing — their hostility to the party's left-wing "Waffle" grouping which is running Jim Laxer for the leadership.

And now the trade union brass have got into the act. "A national haven for every social misfit in the party," UAW leader Dennis McDermott describes the Waffle. "People like them just annoy workers in the plants and in the unions," adds Steel leader Larry Sefton. Chimes in Food Workers' Fred Dowling: "Basically the Waffle did more to damage the party than anything that's happened in the past 15 years."

Why the sharp attacks on the Waffle?

If socialist ideas are so unacceptable to workers, then why are the brass so vehement in their denunciations of the Waffle, in their attempts to dismiss the Waffle's importance, to innoculate the ranks against its influence?

The fact is, the Waffle impact on the party is growing. No mere "ginger group," the conscience of a parliamentary caucus, the Waffle clearly speaks for powerful forces both inside and outside the party who want the NDP to take a positive stand for a radical socialist alternative. And there are signs that, contrary to all the dire predictions (or hopes) of the labor brass, the left has even begun to make significant inroads into the working class base of the party, where a new radical consciousness is beginning to develop among layers of young workers.

The Waffle's impact is understandable in view of the principled positions it has advanced on the key issues before the party and the working class, positions

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which Laxer's campaign coast to coast has done much to popularize.

The Waffle's position that foreign-owned corporations must be nationalized and operated under workers control has given a whole new dimension to the growing movement against U.S. domination of Canada.

A glance at the Waffle resolutions submitted to the upcoming convention reveals the positive evolution of this socialist tendency during the less than two years since it first appeared.

Building on a correct insistence that public ownership must be the key instrument of socialist planning, the Waffle has popularized this important concept through its campaign against the sellout of Canadian energy resources to U.S. imperialist interests.

It has extended its principled defense of the Quebec nation's right of self-determination to include support of the actual movement against the repression under Trudeau's Public Order Act.

The Waffle has warmly identified with women's liberation. It supports within the NDP all the key issues advanced by the most advanced wing of the movement, and has moved to organize women in the party around these demands.

The NDP right-wing has been forced by the shocking reality of Vietnam to pull back from former all-out support of the cold war, but without substituting anything in place of that position. The Waffle manifesto and foreign policy resolutions (unfortunately, none was submitted this year) directly point the way to a fundamental reorientation of the party away from complicity in the cold war to support of the national liberation and socialist movement around the world.

In several instances, the Waffle has propelled the NDP into action against plant closures, unemployment, pollution, attempting to make the party a viable instrument to lead the growing extraparliamentary mass movement.

And — not least important — the Waffle has crowned this programmatic challenge by linking it to the struggle for a new leadership in the party.

At the last federal convention, in 1969, shortly after the Waffle's appearance, the right wing attempted to minimize its political impact. Their objection, they argued, was the "extreme language" of the Waffle manifesto, not its content. Today, that line is no longer heard. The left clearly poses a frontal challenge to the right in all the debates and on all the issues.

The right wing accuses the Waffle of threatening to jeopardise what feeble achievements the party has managed to consolidate during the past ten years of the Douglas-Lewis leadership. But paradoxically, the party's greatest achievement in that decade has in fact been the development of the Waffle, as a viable left-wing with mass support. The right-wing, in contrast, has totally failed to give leadership to the growing radicalization to Canadian society.

The Waffle's present limitations reflect those of the radicalization, whose main thrust is still expressed in sectors largely peripheral to the organized working class. But the next period will see the radicalization extend deep into the working class, giving a whole new perspective to the socialist wing of the NDP, whether it is called "Waffle" or whatever.

When that happens, the struggle to win the NDP to a socialist perspective will be, as they say, a whole new ball game.

The British role in Vietnam; a lesson in imperialism

THE BRITISH IN VIETNAM — HOW THE 25-YEAR WAR BEGAN, by George Rosie. A Panther Book. 144 pages. $1.25.

While it is now the rulers of the United States who are providing the military hardware and deploying the forces attempting to crush the Vietnamese liberation fighters, they are only carrying on where the French, the Japanese and the British before them were forced to leave off. The people of what we now know as Vietnam have been engaged in one continuous struggle against imperialist intervention for over one hundred years. This small paperback sketches the British chapter in that horrifying tale of infamy.

Few are even aware that Britain has played any direct role in Vietnam at all. Yet as Rosie shows, British forces played an absolutely crucial role: but for British intervention in the critical period of September 1945, when the French colonialists had been routed and the Japanese occupation forces were preparing to withdraw following the A-bombing of Japan, until March 1946, when French rule was reinstituted, the Vietnamese would have firmly established the power that was already in their hands.

Britain moved in when no other imperialist power was able to, smashed the Vietminh government in Saigon, released the pro-Vichy French murder squads from prison and — instead of clearing out "the enemy" Japanese forces, ostensibly her reason for being there — enlisted them in a murderous assault on the Vietnamese people which established the French in power once again.

The author can scarcely believe his own findings. But facts are stubborn things, and Rosie has searched them out and authenticated them from the Ministry of Defense Library, the library of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Strategic Studies, as well as from the journals and records of the regiments employed, largely Indian and Gurkha forces from the Burma campaign.

Among the photographs he culled from the Imperial War Museum is one showing a Japanese trooper, with whom the British Commander Gracey's forces had just been locked in a life and death battle, actually posting the British declaration of martial law in the streets of Saigon Sept. 19, 1945.

Rosie relates how, with the collapse of Japan, the Vietnamese nationalist forces moved out to establish their power in Saigon. The Vietminh, which had heroic record of opposition to the Japanese, established its leadership with the agreement of other nationalist forces who feared that without such agreement the British and French would dismiss the movement out-of-hand as a creature of Japanese intrigue.

The Peoples' Committee for the South was established in Saigon Town Hall under the chairmanship of Tran Van Giau, leader of the Cochin Communist party. Ho Chi Minh was head of the CP of Tonkin which, with the northern part of Annam now constitutes North Vietnam. The Saigon committee consisted of nine members, six of them CPers.

Rosie shows how the Vietminh bent over backwards to curry favor with the British and French military. The extremely conciliatory policy of the Vietminh to Cédille, the French commissioner-designate for Cochin-China whom the RAF had flown in Aug. 22, caused all the other nationalist forces, including the Trotskyists, to express fears of a sellout to the French.

Following the Sept. 2 Day of the Declaration of Independence, during which there were some revolutionary outbursts, the Vietminh undertook a series of actions to assuage the fears of the British who were on the point of arriving. Among them — Tran Van Giau himself stepping out of office, the reconstitution of the Saigon committee from nine members to 13, only four of them CPers, and the arrests of the leaders of the Trotskyist movement, including the popular Ta Tu Thau.

The Vietminh welcomed the British with open arms. But, says Rosie, "the extremists among the nationalists had succeeded to the dismay of the Vietminh in stirring up some feelings against the British by spreading a rumor that General Gracey had come simply to reinstall the French."

Despite all their supplications, Gracey would have nothing to do with the Vietminh. On Sept. 21, the British declared martial law, rearmed many of the Saigon colons, took over the jails, and rearmed the French POWs. Then on Sept. 23 Cédille, with these forces and British permission, seized the Vietminh headquarters in Town Hall and arrested all the committee members he could find.

Says Rosie, who thinks the coup was "a tragic blunder": "The forebodings and warnings of the most extreme nationalists seem to have been justified ... As a consequence, the moderately inclined Vietminh were pushed into the same camp as such hard-liners as the Trotskyists."

The Vietminh, having disarmed the struggle, was now compelled to fight, under much less favorable circumstances. Rosie, apparently unable to credit the evidence that he unfolds before the reader's eyes, remonstrates:

"While the Vietminh probably did their best to ensure that it (the truce) was kept, their hold on the nationalist forces had loosened over since the coup of 23 September. It was the extremists, not the Vietminh, who had proven right about the intentions of the British, the Vietminh policy of moderation resulting only in the restoration of French rule in Saigon."

From mid-October 1945 to early 1946 when their troops were withdrawn, the British, with Japanese and French help, fought the same kind of war against the people of Vietnam as the U.S. is waging in Vietnam in 1971. "The British units were directed not to be too scrupulous in attempting to distinguish between harmless civilians and Vietnamese combatants," notes Rosie. "It is therefore perfectly legitimate," a British commander directed, "to look upon all locals anywhere near where a shot has been fired as enemies, and treacherous ones at that, and treat them accordingly."

The Official History of the Indian Armed Forces notes that "all the dirty work to fight and disarm the Annamites (Vietnamese) was assigned to Japanese troops." The historian of 4/10 Gurkhas noted that "a satisfactory result of their use was greatly to reduce the casualties among our own troops." Japanese casualties were more than British, Indian and French combined.

The British intervention in Vietnam at the end of the Second World War occurred at the very beginning of a developing wave of struggles by the peoples of the colonial world that continues, despite periodic setbacks, to sweep forward. Besides opening up a little-known chapter in the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese people, this carefully-documented paperback therefore inadvertently throws some light on the nature of World War II.

It is apparent from the evidence that Rosie presents, although this is not his aim, that the prime object of the Allied capitalist powers was to preserve and if possible extend their imperialist holdings. In this they had the agreement of Stalin at the head of the Soviet bureaucracy. It is also apparent that while the capitalist powers of both sides were prepared to thrust entire peoples against one another in horrendous combat and devastate whole continents, when confronted by an uprising of a colonial people, they were prepared to bury all differences in order to crush it.

— Ross Dowson

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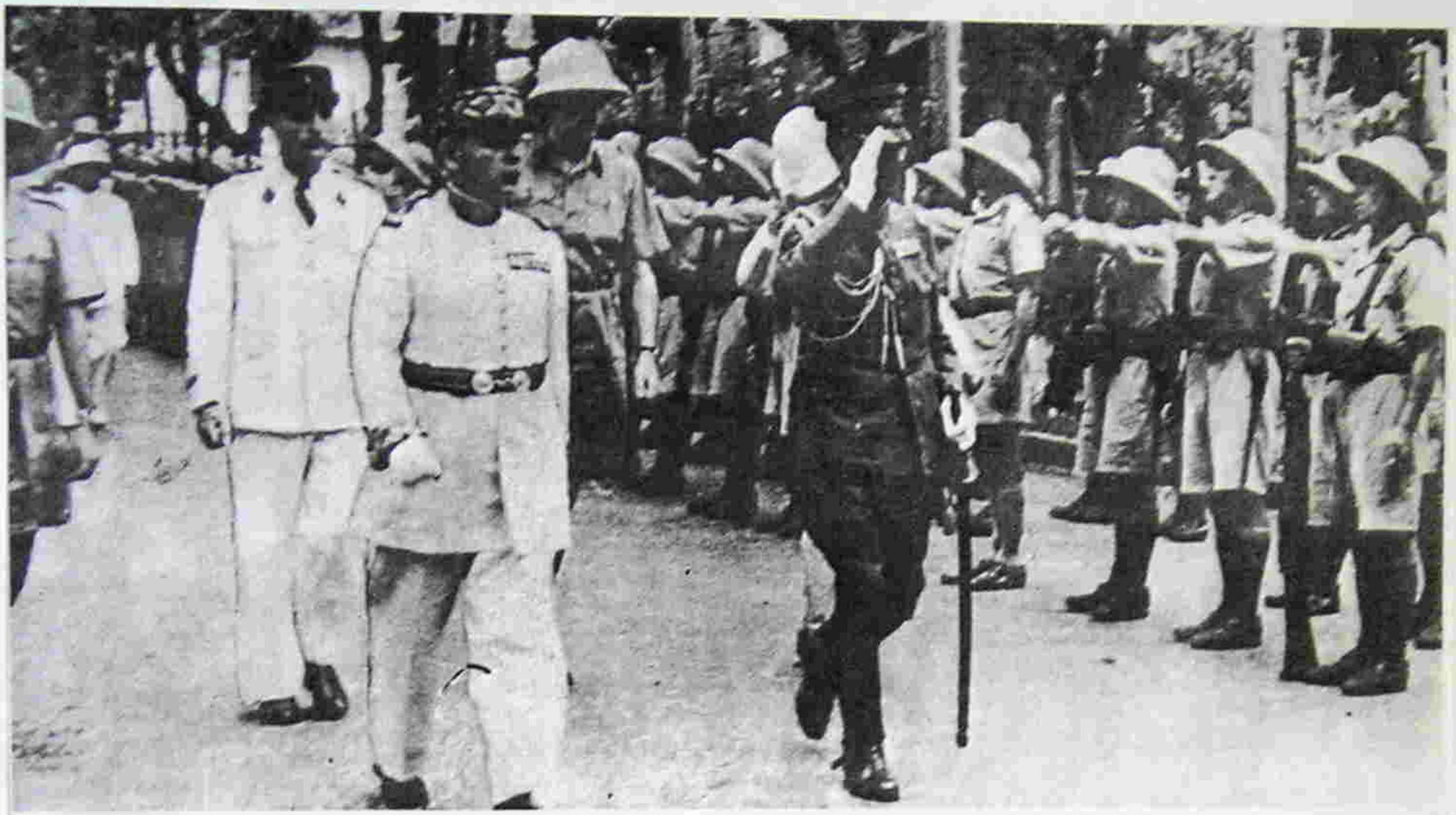

IMPERIALIST COLLABORATION. Vietnamese struggle for self-determination has long history. When Japanese invaded in 1940, French colonialists offered no resistance, and for the first years of the war administered the colony for the Japanese. Above, Japanese commander taking the French salute. After the war, as article below explains, the victorious British prepared way for resumption of French rule — which lasted until defeat by Viet Minh at Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

Canadian Trotskyists carry struggle forward

50 years of revolutionary socialism

by Ross Dowson

Fifty years ago this month, a group of revolutionaries from across Canada met in a barn just outside the town of Guelph in Ontario.

From there, under the banner of the Third International headed by Lenin and Trotsky, they launched the first serious effort to build a revolutionary party of the type necessary to make Canada socialist. The following spring they assumed the name Workers Party of Canada, and the next year, with the lapse of repressive legislation, adopted the name, Communist Party of Canada.

It was a confident and vigorous assembly. These men and women had come together from stormy and widely differing experiences — syndicalist, parliamentarist, opportunist, ultraleftist, sectarian, that were all part of the process of the growing radicalism of the post-World War I period — to the scientific socialist politics of Bolshevism. While they had yet to really assimilate and fuse Bolshevism with Canadian reality, they were supremely confident that they would do so.

Many of them, though young, were already leaders of the Canadian left. Some headed the Finnish, Ukrainian, Russian, Jewish cultural and political associations which had become broadly based and gone left under the impact of the pre-and post-World War I European crises.

Many of them were leading activists in the as-yet relatively small trade union movement of the day and or had been prominent in the Socialist Labor party, the Socialist party, the Social Democratic party, the One Big Union, and the Industrial Workers of the World. They brought with them the best forces out of these organizations which soon disintegrated or degenerated into hopeless sects.

And some of them were youth with no real experience in the class struggle but inspired with the possibilities of a socialist Canada and prepared to dedicate their lives to its realization.

The most highly respected figure in the party, Jack MacDonald, a pattern maker by trade, a recognized union leader and a popular speaker, was unanimously elected executive secretary. He held that post for the next crucial eight years. The acknowledged theoretician and the most able writer and orator was Maurice Spector, who in 1928 was the first Canadian to be elected to the executive committee of the Third International.

Among other leading personalities were Jack Kavanagh, prominent B.C. socialist, president of the 1919 congress of the B.C. Federation of Labor which organized the famed Western Labor Conference of TLC unions and launched the abortive One Big Union; Malcolm Bruce, unionist and publicist, Max Armstrong, Marxist educator, Mike Buhay, William Moriarty, Florence Custance, and Tim Buck.

Eight years later, this youthful party that had been so full of promise, had undergone a profound degeneration, resisted unsuccessfully, first by Spector, and then by MacDonald. They were viciously and slanderously driven out of its ranks, along with anyone else who so much as wanted to give them a hearing.

The Communist party of Canada succumbed to the influence of Stalin who headed a parasitic caste that grew up on the impoverished, isolated first workers' state and which politically expropriated the Soviet masses and took over the Third International. Under Stalin's influence the parties of the Third International, from instruments directed towards the achievement of workers power in their own country, became pawns in the Kremlin's diplomatic maneuvers with the world capitalist powers.

The Communist party's subservience to the Kremlin and its betrayal of its original aims were rationalized with the so-called theory of "socialism in one country." According to this concept the USSR could advance to socialism of and by itself if only given respite from assault by world capitalism. The fundamental task of the Communist parties was not therefore to make the revolution in their own countries but to assure the peace, and thereby assure socialism in the USSR. Today from the same theory under the guise of "peaceful coexistence" comes the Canadian CP's advocacy of an anti-monopoly peoples coalition, with socialism as a distant, ultimate perspective to be achieved by the peaceful parliamentary path.

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Bankrupt program

Under the leadership of Tim Buck who became Stalin's chief acolyte, the Communist party veered from a period of extreme ultraleftism, which saw it characterize the CCF as social-fascist, to the class collaborationist politics of popular frontism, to open and shameless support of the capitalist Liberal party.

Despite its programmatic bankruptcy which doomed it as a revolutionary vanguard force, the CP did not by any means collapse. On the contrary it continued to grow. Thousands came to it — and went through it. While its cadre was corrupted and destroyed, its ranks expanded over the next two decades until in the 1940s it could claim some 15,000 members, leadership of several important unions, representatives in municipal and provincial government and a member in the federal House.

On the other hand, the group launched by Spector and MacDonald in 1934 as the Workers party of Canada — one of the five original groups across the world that answered Leon Trotsky's call to commence anew the building of Leninist parties under the banner of the Fourth International — worked under indescribable difficulties. While it had a correct insight into the revolutionary dynamics of the times, it was cursed by a lack of forces and thereby prevented from effective intervention in an overall period of widening defeats of the revolution on a world scale. The group was harassed on all sides, slandered and villified, under persistent and vicious attacks by the Stalinists which led to the political exhaustion of Spector and MacDonald's premature death in 1941, shortly after the murder of Trotsky at the hands of a Stalinist assassin. Nonetheless, thanks to its ideas, the movement survived. Eventually it even won to its side Max Armstrong, Malcolm Bruce, and by now in distant Australia, Jack Kavanagh.

The League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes are the direct lineal descendants of the movement that MacDonald and Spector were the leading initiators of 50 years ago, in 1921. How do they measure up to the Communist party which, while it veered wildly off course back in 1928, likewise claims to be the lineal descendant of the party that was launched at Guelph?

How are they meeting the new radicalization that is developing across the country — on the scope of the one that commenced in the early 1920s and laid the foundations for the early Communist party? And what are their perspectives? That is the essential theme of an article by William Stewart appearing in the Communist party's theoretical journal **Communist Viewpoint** of September-October 1970, although it carries the title "Ultra-Infantile-Anarchist Left in Canada."

How the Trotskyists can be characterized as ultraleft is at first by no means clear. Stewart describes them as "the oldest, most established and most subtle grouping," and as "the only one. . .with any organizational continuity," a group with "adaptability, arising from experience, which makes them the most dangerous current." Nor does he show by any of the criteria spelled out by Lenin, whom he quotes extensively, how the LSA/LSO and YS/LJS can be defined in any respect as ultraleftist. But unlike the "old days," when anything could be said about the Trotskyists with complete impunity, Stewart attempts to argue his case. Unfortunately for him, his evidence does not stand up before the slightest examination.

The Trotskyists "played a role" in the Canadian Union of Students, but not in splitting it, as Stewart charges on one page only to state on the next that "the 'new left' bears the major responsibility for that tragedy." The Trotskyists fought the ultralefts in an effort to make CUS an across-Canada instrument for student-faculty control of the universities. Is it perhaps the concept of student-faculty control of the universities that the CP considers ultraleft, but dares say so only by the most subtle implication?

Stewart has the Trotskyists advancing a policy of "confrontation with the state, the police," of projecting " 'revolutionary' slogans" in the anti-Vietnam war movement. It is not possible to carry off such a charge with any one of the tens of thousands who are today involved in the antiwar movement. They know that it is the Trotskyists who have persistently

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U.S.S.R., ATOMBOMB KO JAPAN WARLORDS
Canadian TRIBUNE
500,000 War Workers, Demand Peacetime Job
TORONTO MASS RALLY TO BATTLE LAY
Not This Kind of Postwar!
THERE IS NO PEACE
Only Socialism Can Save Mankind From Atomic Destruction in Another World War
CHALLENGE
HOWE'S ANSWER PROOF THAT GOV'T HAS NO POSTWAR PLAN

WHO SPEAKS FOR SOCIALISM? CP's allegiance to Kremlin bureaucracy meant blind support of Stalin's wartime alliance with U.S. and British imperialism. Result was this infamous headline (left) in CP's Tribune Aug. 18, 1945, supporting A-bombing of Japanese people. Trotskyists took a different view (right), warning that imperialist powers would turn nuclear terror against Soviet workers state.

labor Challenge #32 - May 24, 1971

CLASS STRUGGLE, NOT CLASS COLLABORATION. Under Stalin, Communist party degenerated into supporting capitalist parties like Liberals. Trotskyists have consistently supported principle of independent labor political action, as represented today by NDP. Above, author Ross Dowson, executive secretary of LSA LSO, during 1948 campaign for Toronto mayoralty as candidate of LSA predecessor, Revolutionary Workers Party.

fought against the ultralefts and against the CP for a single-issue, non-confrontationist, mass-oriented movement around two key demands — Withdraw U.S. troops now, and, End Canadian complicity in Vietnam. So, having said it, Stewart says that the Trotskyists had such a position. . .previously, at some unspecified time when it would be difficult to check on, and it is only "recently" that they have been conducting themselves along their present known line, "under great pressure."

In an attempt to explain this alleged shift, Stewart speculates that it "reflects two considerations." The first consideration will come as a surprise to campus activists who are witness to the rising influence of the Trotskyists at the universities, for Stewart says "they have been losing a considerable part of their influence on campus." The other consideration is puzzling — "they have been unable to find a meaningful base in the trade union movement," — until you read on to learn that "Trotskyite efforts in the trade union movement were for many years (despite his previous statement of their inability to find even a meaningful base — RD) predicated on the attempt to split the international unions" by supporting the breakaway Canadian national unions.

There is of course not the tiniest scrap of evidence to be found anywhere showing that the Trotskyists have supported Canadian national union tendencies — only lots of evidence to show that they have persistently counselled union militants against such a policy, urging them to stay and fight inside the CLC. But here too, having made the charge, Stewart takes it back on the next page: the Trotskyists, it seems, have once again "shifted their position to one of autonomy within the framework of the International unions."

It is a well-known fact that the Trotskyists have been persistent supporters of the New Democratic Party — although it is not so well known but it is a hard fact that the CP has consistently opposed the NDP as a block to its class collaborationist projection of an anti-monopoly peoples coalition, running candidates where it could against the NDP, particularly the more left-wing NDP candidates. The Trotskyists support the NDP as a mass break from capitalist politics and have vigorously fought to win it to a class-struggle program and a socialist perspective. This is well known, for the reformist right-wing of this labor party formation, in an apparent attempt to clear themselves of all radical taint in the eyes of respectable opinion, have conducted several purges of the Trotskyists with great fanfare.

But things are not at all what they might seem, according to Stewart. "There is little doubt," we read, "that the right-wing leadership of the NDP gives covert, if not overt encouragement to their (the Trotskyists') activity. . ." And not just the right-wing — but the very enemy itself: "It is indispensable for them (the Trotskyists), and objectively, of course, also for monopoly, to strengthen their influence in the unions to provide a base for an attack from the 'left' which can impede the growing shift to the left and towards united parliamentary and extraparliamentary actions."

Having resorted to this ludicrous slander, it is but a small matter for Stewart to top off his attack on Trotskyism in the classical Stalinist style: "Their ideological outlook is anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, anti-unity and essentially counter-revolutionary."

It is only by characterizing the Trotskyists (who defend the Soviet Union as a workers state but are for the overthrow of the bureaucracy) as "anti-Soviet" and "anti-Communist" that Stewart manages to link them to the Maoists and the "new left" who see the Soviet Union as capitalist and even fascist, and therefore an integral part of his "ultra-infantile-anarchist left."

But how does Stewart see the entire r
wave of radicalization that is sweepi
through whole new layers of the
population?

The CP is aware of it. At one and the same time Stewart's article is both a recognition that the CP is to some considerable degree on the outside of this whole process looking in, and a challenge to the CP membership, now vastly reduced and going through continual crises, to get into it. He sees the "presence and growth" of what he calls the ultraleft "and the relative weakness of the Communist party, an implicit criticism of our stance, of our methods, of our revolutionary presence in the growing radical movements of the young people of this country in the factories and in the universities and high schools."

'Anti-Soviet'?

According to Stewart, the relative isolation of the CP from this new radicalization is the result of the latter's contamination by anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism. The "cold war is receding," he notes, "although not yet behind us by some considerable measure," he adds parenthetically. The revelation of the "Stalin cult," he notes, "shook the confidence of many people in socialism and has been used since as a major weapon in the arsenal of the anti-Communist camp." He worries that the "massive anti-Sovietism which has been instilled into children. . .has a pernicious influence."

But that is not at all how the Trotskyists

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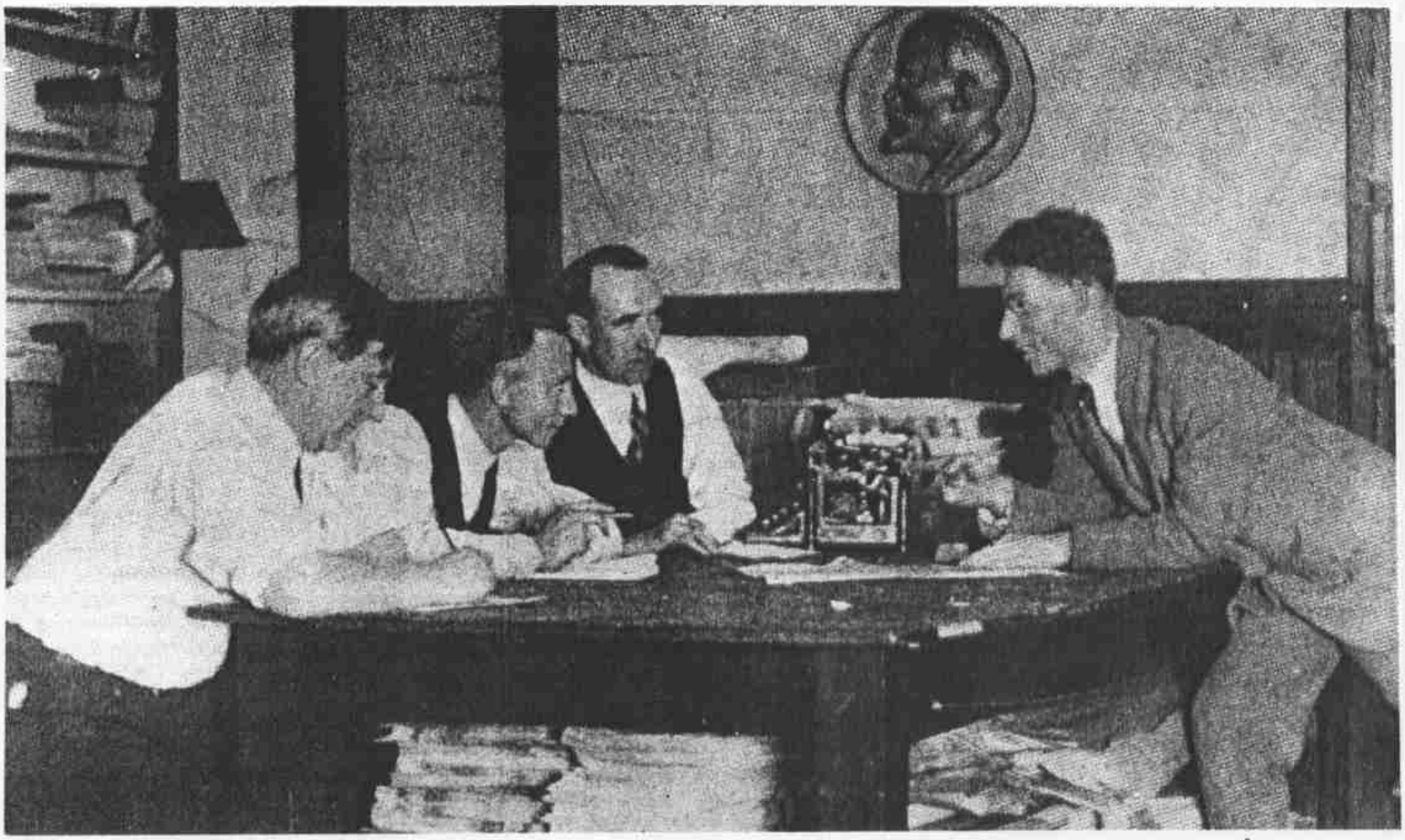

PIONEER COMMUNISTS. Early Communist party, before its Stalinist degeneration under Tim Buck, brought together revolutionary socialists behind the ideas of the victorious Russian revolution. Above, Maurice Spector, later the founder of Canadian Trotskyism, makes a point while (from left) William Moriarty, Buck Taylor and Jack MacDonald listen. Spector was editor of CP newspaper, MacDonald was party's general secretary.

read the new wave of radicalization that is sweeping ever new and widening layers into anti-status quo, anti-establishment, anti-capitalist actions across the country. It is by no means anti-Soviet and by no means anti-Communist. It is critically minded, it is humanist, it is profoundly democratic, and it is clearly revolutionary, increasingly open to all the liberatory concepts of socialism and its universal precepts. It sees the Communist party as the apologist for the Soviet bureaucracy that it truly is. It automatically tends to identify with the developing forces of socialist democracy in the Soviet areas. It tends to understand them as being not in anyway pro-capitalist — as the Polish bureaucracy and the Soviet bureaucracy themselves have been recently compelled to recognize. And it sees the CP as essentially reformist, which by every standard, with its peaceful-path-to-socialism concepts, it certainly is.

What has changed?

Throughout his article Stewart suggests time and time again that the Trotskyists have changed.

He states that the Trotskyists' "first open breakthrough in the postwar period was following the Cuban revolution." "They took advantage," he says, "of certain inconsistencies in the line of the revolution and the existence of some sympathy for the theory of 'permanent revolution' among some Cuban leaders."

"After the outbreak of the Vietnam war they shifted their emphasis to that arena and have systematically," he says, "used the anti-war movement, since that time, to strengthen their ranks amongst campus and high school students."

Took advantage of? Used? Cuba — Vietnam?? Not at all! But rallied to the defence of the Cuban revolution and played an instrumental role in building the movement against the war on the Vietnamese people as is the responsibility of all forces that would even call themselves democratic not to speak of revolutionary and socialist.

If it wasn't for the Cuban revolution, and if it wasn't for the Vietnamese revolution, it is often said by CP supporters, you Trotskyists wouldn't be making the gains you are. But haven't the Cuban and Vietnamese struggles been key factors in the whole radicalization process? Might as well say, if it wasn't for the objective conditions that developed into a profoundly revolutionary situation in Russia in 1916-17 Lenin and his party wouldn't have done what they did.

It is not the Trotskyists who have changed. It is the whole world situation that has changed. We have entered into a new epoch of revolutionary struggles which in Canada is already radicalizing whole new layers of the population. The Trotskyists are bending every effort to meet the challenge of these new opportunities. We are attempting to deepen the struggle, to give it direction and a program — the program of the socialist revolution. We are out to clear out all the old rubbish that stands in the way of this development — including the Communist party whose crimes have caught up with it. The Trotskyists are out to train revolutionary cadres who will know how to participate fully in unfolding struggles and how to lead them forward to the conquest of political power and the structuring of a socialist Canada in a socialist world.

The Trotskyists haven't changed. We are what we were in June 1921 when we launched the Workers Party of Canada with Lenin, and commenced the process of building the revolutionary vanguard party of the Canadian revolution. We are what we were in 1934 with Trotsky when we commenced the task anew after Stalinism overwhelmed the precious first cadres. Today, 1971, we are entering into a new radicalization, and we are more than ever confident that we will develop the new cadre, that we will build the Canadian party of socialist revolution, which under the banner of the Fourth International will win!

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On to Waterloo

by Kate Alderdice
Waterloo conference coordinator

MAY 15 — At least 500 people, the majority of them students and youth, are expected to converge on the University of Waterloo August 20 for the first cross-Canada Socialist Educational Conference, the conference organizing committee announced today.

Among the prominent socialist scholars who have already agreed to address the conference, the committee reported, are Evelyn Reed, American Marxist anthropologist, who will speak on the topic "Have Women Always Been the Second Sex?"; and George Novack, internationally known socialist theoretician, speaking on "The Meaning of Life — a Marxist Analysis."

As well, English-Canadian and Quebecois speakers will be giving lectures on the theory and strategy of the women's liberation movement, the struggle for an independent and socialist Quebec, the new youth radicalization and the student movement, the development of the revolutionary movement in Canada, and many other topics.

Speakers are also being invited from the European revolutionary movement.

There will be seminars, workshops, and informal discussions on dozens of different topics related to the Canadian revolution. There will be special evening sessions with well-known speakers, parties, and a cultural evening with some well-known Canadian entertainers. And of course, time to go swimming, and just lie around in the sun.

Right now teams of unemployed students are heading out of the major cities to publicize the conference in towns and cities all across Canada. They'll be handing out brochures, putting up posters, slapping up conference stickers on telephone poles, in laundromats, anywhere that people go. Conference committees are now being set up in major cities; anyone who's interested in working for the conference is welcome to participate in them. They will publicize the conference in their local areas, raise money and initiate research projects.

Evelyn Reed

Facilities are being booked at the University of Waterloo to accommodate 500 people for the week, talking, listening, sleeping, and eating. Cost of the five and a half days to each participant will be approximately $30.

The conference is taking place on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Canada. Inspired by the victory of the Russian revolution only four years earlier, the founding of the first revolutionary vanguard party was a great step forward for the working people of Canada; and one to which members of the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action, who are participating in the conference, trace their own revolutionary heritage. The actual founding convention took place in a barn at Guelph, quite close to Waterloo, and we are planning to visit the site and perhaps hold a celebration there.

This is the first in a regular series of columns on the Waterloo conference which will appear in Labor Challenge between now and August 20. Send in reports of what is being done in your area to publicize and participate in the conference.

Farmers protests shake up Euromart

by Ross Dowson

Petty-bourgeois Brussels has not yet recovered from the shock of March 23. It is still repairing — on a crash basis, now, with the opening of the tourist season — the estimated 1.5 million dollars damage that was inflicted on it when the police clashed with some 100,000 farmers who came from all over Europe to demonstrate through the main streets for higher prices on their produce.

Brussels is the focal point of these protests, because it houses the bureaucrats of the European Economic Community, whose Council of Ministers was meeting there March 23.

"The demonstration of angry farmers turned into the pillage of Brussels," proclaimed Le Soir, Brussels' leading daily. One farmer was killed when a policeman fired a tear gas grenade into the back of his head, and more than a hundred were injured.

Europe hasn't heard the last of farmers' protests. March 23 was only the beginning!

The supra-national strategists of the European capitalist class are out to "rationalize" the agricultural structure of the continent. "The idea, put crudely," wrote Richard Norton-Taylor in his WP dispatch from Brussels two days after the event, "is to get the inefficient small farmers off the land and make way for bigger mechanized agricultural units." For three years they had succeeded in blocking any rise in prices going to the farmers for the goods they produce.

That hasn't inhibited gouging on retail prices by the agro-business monopolists. But while industrial workers have to some degree, through union-won wage increases, kept up, the gap between industrial wages and farm income has been widening, until in Italy it stands at over 45 percent. This farm price squeeze has been one of the instruments to drive millions of poor farmers, particularly youth, off the land, adding new raw forces to the industrial proletariat and swelling the ranks of the city unemployed.

Since 1958 almost 6½ million people have been driven off the land. Of the remaining estimated 10 million, another two million are expected to leave in the next five years.

Through the degradation and pauperization of the farmers, the European bourgeoisie is achieving some success in its plans. But there is one small problem. Despite their continually deteriorating circumstances, the farmers do not want to leave the land.

Desperate situations call forth radical tactics in self-defense. In Quebec, workers have occupied their factories to demand government intervention, rejecting the explanations of their capitalist owners that continued operation is no longer profitable, no longer "rational." In Europe, the capitalist drive to exterminate the farmer ignited the March 23 explosion — and there will be more.

Several days before, as protest actions swept with mounting power all across the continent, the politicians seated in Luxembourg in the European Parliament urged the EEC Council of Ministers to make some price concessions to the enraged farmers. But Dr. Sicco Mansholt, vice-president of the commission responsible for farm affairs, charged government and farm leaders "who did not have the courage to tell the farmers the truth," with abject cowardice.

Back in December 1968, Mansholt, looking up from columns of statistics in the calm of his office, said that the population on the farms of the Common Market countries has to be reduced from where it stood then, 10,600,000, to less than half that by 1986 — to make them economically profitable.

While Mansholt tried to strengthen resistance to concessions to the farmers, he nonetheless accepted the deal agreed upon by Europe's statesmen, expected to raise farm income about 2 percent, as a "very important step forward." For the first time, he noted with satisfaction, prices and structures are tied together and in the future cannot be separated.

Of course there was a complex tangle of conflicting bourgeois national interests at this Council meeting, and there will continue to be. Britain only this month roused the ire of the French against her entry into the Common Market because of the smallness of her proferred contribution to the EEC budget. The bulk of the market's central budget already goes to farm subsidies. Furthermore, Britain is an importer of lower-priced European foods which, when their prices rise, set off new pressures from the workers for wage increases.

The Netherlands wanted increased prices and fewer structural reforms. Italy wanted the exact reverse. Germany wanted price increases but also to retain a degree of national controls. Dr. Mansholt publicly rebuked the U.S. which made know its opposition to price increases for Europe's farmers because import levees on the goods it wants to sell in Europe increase at the same rate as European domestic prices. "The United States," he said, "should consider itself lucky that the increases are not bigger."

While the capitalist rationalization of Europe's agriculture is thrusting the farmers into militant anti-capitalist struggle, it is laying the basis for new and firmer links between the farmers and the working class, thereby widening the forces of the struggle for a socialist Europe.

The most massive and latest addition to Europe's industrial work force are the discontented youth who have been driven from the farms over the last 10 years into the alienating and unhealthy labor of the factories. Ironically, as the farmers become proletarianized, the symbol of the European left — the hammer crossed with the sickle, signifying worker-farmer unity — is much closer to becoming a reality than ever before.

The program of that unity was long ago sketched in its broad lines by the Fourth International, in its basic programmatic document adopted in 1938.

The Fourth International did not project the program for the nationalization of the land and collectivization of agriculture schematically, but stated that the program "should be so drawn that from its very basis it should exclude the possibility of expropriation of small farmers and their compulsory collectivization. The farmer will remain owner of his plot of land as long as he himself believes it possible or necessary."

Further, it stated, "The practical participation of the exploited farmers in the control of different fields of economy will allow them to decide for themselves whether or not it would be profitable for them to go over to collective working of the land — at what date and on what scale. Industrial workers should consider themselves duty-bound to show farmers every cooperation in travelling this road: through the trade unions, factory committees, and most importantly, through a workers and farmers government."

While recognizing that the farmers and urban petty bourgeoisie are essentially "representative survivals of precapitalist forms of production," the Fourth International sees them as "future allies":

"While the farmer remains an 'independent' petty producer, he is in need of cheap credit, of agriculture machines and fertilizer at prices he can afford to pay, favorable conditions of transport, and conscientious organization of the market for his agricultural products. But the banks, the trusts, the merchants rob the farmer from every side. Only the farmers themselves, with the help of the workers, can curb this robbery. Committees elected by small farmers should make their appearance on the national scene and, jointly with workers' committees and committees of bank employees, take into their hands control of transport, credit, and mercantile operations affecting agriculture."

Particularly interesting and relevant to the European struggle today is a section in the Transitional Program on prices.

Election sweep for UK Labour

by Ross Dowson

LONDON — Local government elections in England and Wales saw Labour sweep back into positions of power. London's Evening Standard of May 14 characterized them as a "landslide" for Labour which made this "the bleakest day for Mr. Edward Heath since the Tories swept into power nearly a year ago."

Far from continuing to bleed, which some observers only a year ago thought was the fate confronting the British Labour Party, it has recovered the positions that it held back in 1964, and, according to London Labour Party chairman Mellish, it is back to where it was in 1945. The election results, he said "are the most impressive we have ever had in London."

That a profound swing to Labour in both England and Wales was well underway was apparent a week earlier when local elections took place in Scotland.

Labour made 117 gains to become the largest single party in Edinburgh council for the first time, winning control in Glasgow by taking wards it had never won before, taking a majority in Dundee, and increasing its majority in Aberdeen. The Tories suffered wide losses, but the Scottish Nationalists (SNP) were almost swept into oblivion. The SNP was cut back to one seat in Glasgow and saw its five seats in Edinburgh wiped out.

By the end of the week Labour gained 2,800 seats which gave it control in England and Wales of 17 London boroughs, 14 county boroughs, 10 non-county boroughs and 30 urban districts.

Only one-third of council seats were up for election. But in Manchester, the Tories re-warded to take account of population movements from the center to the periphery in hopes of assuring themselves power for another 15 years. It backfired. The new wards gave Labour a majority of 81 councillors to 18 — with aldermanic elections still to come.

While Labour's position in the Greater London Council did not reflect its real strength due to developing apathy among its supporters in recent years, it made a spectacular comeback, winning 21 out of 32 districts. Even the area that elects Prime Minister Heath to the Commons fell to Labour.

The Communist Party lost the two seats in London's Tower Hamlets which it had held since 1945 and 1956 — but for an interruption in 1959 and 1968 — along with its three seats in Wales and the one in Birkenhead.

The CP ran 452 candidates in England and Wales, including a full slate in Manchester, for a total of 63,500 votes, somewhat less than it polled in 1968.

Some of Labour's successes were due to its doubling its poll. In Brent, Labour's vote went up by 98 percent overall. In Ealing it doubled. Both boroughs had a 4 percent increase in their electorate because of new young voters. In Ealing the poll was about 15 percent over 1968's voting.

The Labour Party's right-wing reformist leadership knew better than to claim the victory as having much, if anything, to do with their policies. While they had anticipated a certain recovery of strength its scope startled even them. Deputy leader Roy Jenkins characterized it as "a massive vote of no-confidence on the government's performance over the past 11 months."

The thousands of workers who had become apathetic over the Labour Party leadership's rotten performance when in office over the previous years, thanks to the Heath government, soon once again learned the progressive character of even Harold Wilson and his parliamentary cohorts' watchdog role over the concessions that had been wrung over the years out of the British capitalist class. Labour's defeat in the national elections 11 months ago soon proved to be much more than a marginal one for the British working class. As Labour Party General Secretary Sir Harry Nicholas noted: "The people have retaliated at the ballot box against the Tory attack on the standard of living, against the loss of free school milk, rising rents, rising health charges, rising food prices and rising unemployment."

And it goes further than that. The past six months have seen a further deepening in the radicalization of the British working people, not only in the youth and among women, but in the shops. The Tory government's threat to hamstring the mighty forces of the British trade union movement through the Industrial Relations Bill whippped up a series of massive struggles the like of which has not been seen since the General Strike of 1926. This radicalization has not only been reflected in the Labour Party but has inevitably siphoned right into it and poses once again the challenge of Labour to power.

The local government elections reveal that this process is once again well underway, a process which is almost as frightening for the Wilson Labour Party leadership which hundreds of thousands of workers have developed a critical understanding of, as it is for the British capitalist class. "The prime minister knows that he would face decisive defeat in another general election now," notes the Evening Standard.

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Socialism and independence

Waffle dominates NDP conference

by Anne Macdonald

TORONTO — Over 600 enthusiastic New Democrats and radicals representing the whole spectrum of left-wing views participated in the June 24-26 NDP "counter-conference" on "Ontario and Canadian Independence."

The conference was designed as the Ontario NDP's response to a Tory government-sponsored conference taking place at the same time on "Economic and Cultural Nationalism." The Davis government is belatedly responding to the growing public sentiment against U.S. domination, and is hoping to undo some of the support the NDP has attracted on this issue.

But the contrast between the two conferences revealed who is serious. While the Tories' conference heard speakers carefully selected for their conservative and pro-U.S. views, and came up with no proposals except to study the question further, the NDP conference brimmed with ideas and proposed solutions.

The highlight of the NDP affair was the opening-night debate between Jim Laxer, recently candidate of the left-wing Waffle for NDP federal leader, and Liberal MP and ex-cabinet member Eric Kierans on Ontario Resources and American Empire.

The debate quickly centered on whether nationalization is the solution to the U.S. takeover of resource industries. Kierans came out strongly against public ownership, claiming it would cost too much, and not work.

Jim Laxer tore into government resource policy in a powerful, hard-hitting attack that won him waves of applause, and a final standing ovation. The government is preparing a vast sellout of Canada's oil, natural gas, and hydroelectric energy reserves, he said, which threatens to lock this country into a status of "colonialism in perpetuity," increasingly dependent on export of raw materials and import of manufactured goods from the U.S. with resulting gross distortions of the entire Canadian economy, unemployment and complicity with U.S. aims in foreign policy.

There is only one solution, he argued — public ownership of recources industries. "We want no part of capitalism."

Laxer proposed that nationalized industries be paid off through long-term, low-interest bonds, to be paid off in, say, 30 years. But as to the "radical proposal," outright expropriation, "I wouldn't stand in the way of it."

Many of the contributions from the audience throughout the three-day conference expressed this militant and radical mood.

For example, the Friday night session on foreign ownership and unemployment heard featured speaker Prof. Stephen Hymer, an international authority on the "multinational" (imperialist) corporation, call for workers control of industry as the solution to capitalist control which, he said, inevitably meant the subordination of the Canadian economy to U.S. control. Panelist Al Campbell, president of a UAW local at the shut-down Eaton Automotive in London, Ont., presented a comprehensive program to fight branch-plant closures that drew heavily from his local union's experiences.

MEL WATKINS. The issue now is socialism.

Waffle leader Mel Watkins summed it up with a call for the NDP to give full militant support to on-the-job action by workers to stop closures, including plant occupations.

Like other speakers from the floor, Watkins linked this program with the need for a "more militant" labor movement — as one audience participant put it, "for a new class struggle leadership in the trade unions."

And so it went for three days. The discussions ranged far and wide — international vs. "national" unions, student-faculty control of the schools and universities vs. a quota on U.S.-born professors, the importance of state power in effecting fundamental social change, vs. decentralized "regional planning". etc., etc.

One major weakness of the conference was the rather minor role of women in the planning and procedures.

When panelist Varda Kidd urged the party to develop a much deeper understanding and solidarity with the women's liberation struggle, Jacquie Henderson, editor of Young Socialist, stressed the need for the NDP to get in-

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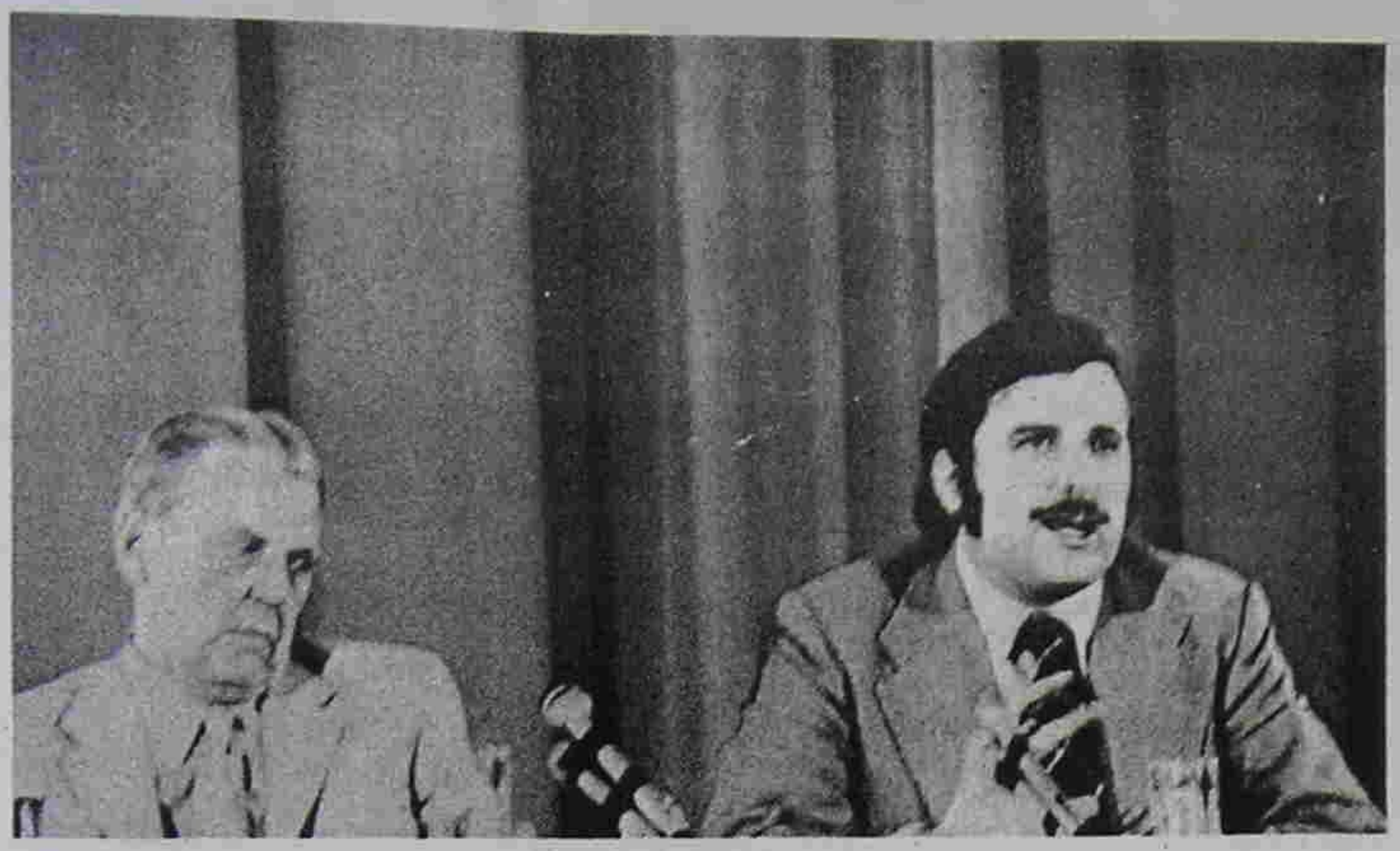

ONLY SOLUTION to resources sellout is public ownership, Waffle spokesman Jim Laxer tells NDP conference. Liberal MP Eric Kierans (left), former head of Montreal Stock Exchange, seems upset by the proposal.

volved in the campaign for Abortion on Demand, a struggle, she pointed out, that could contribute greatly toward raising the membership's consciousness of women's rights, as well as giving a big boost to the whole struggle.

The radicalism of this conference did not sit well with the NDP leadership, concerned with presenting the image of a "moderate," "responsible" alternative to the Tories. NDP leader Stephen Lewis used his two official interventions to not-very-subtly differentiate himself (and by implication, the party) from many of the views expressed. To Mel Watkins' call for "direct action" to stop closures, Lewis counterposed electoral action; in answer to Jim Laxer, he took pains to spell out "what we can do short of public ownership" in regaining control of resource industries (it wasn't much).

But the conference which was televised, illustrated in the clearest fashion how the Waffle can move the NDP into action, provoke discussion of its ideas, and thereby present the socialist alternative to wide layers of the population. Lewis himself had been forced into an embarrassing about-face; at first ridiculing the Davis conference for its exclusion of "nationalist" speakers (the only point on which he said he agreed with the Tory premier was that he, too, would not invite Wafflers Watkins and Laxer), Lewis was finally forced to throw the NDP behind the counter-conference initiated and organized by the Waffle, and featuring Waffle speakers, in order not to be outflanked on his left on this popular radicalizing issue of U.S. ownership.

Summing up the conference, Mel Watkins noted that the party is now firmly committed to what he termed the "nationalist" viewpoint — that is, opposition to U.S. imperialist domination — and the task now was to make sure this was the number one issue in the next election. The question now, he said, was will an independent Canada be capitalist or socialist? "The next time there is a government conference on nationalism," he urged, "let's call a counter-conference on socialist strategy."

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08-09-1a

Struggle for women's rights across Europe

by Ross Dowson
recently returned from a 4½ month stay in Europe

In those European countries where there is a developing struggle for the liberation of the oppressed majority, the main thrust of the movement is for the repeal of the anti-abortion laws. The right to abortion on demand is the focal point in the conflict between the forces of the status quo and the rising forces for women's liberation in Europe, as it is on the North American continent.

The status of women varies widely across the European continent. The legal status of women in Spain is abysmal, even lower than it was in Quebec when the Catholic hierarchy was riding high and being vigorously utilized by the capitalist class to keep women in the kitchen, creche and kindergarten. Spanish women are deprived of the most elementary democratic rights — they remain under the legal control of the family until 25 years of age, unless they marry — or join a religious order.

Before opening a bank account, obtaining a driver's license or a passport, holding a plitical office, or even taking a job — a married Spanish woman needs her husband's written consent. A man may put his wife's children up for adoption without her permission and take a child born out of wedlock away from its mother.

But even where women have achieved some democratic rights — even in some of the most advanced capitalist countries of Europe where there is a powerful labor and socialist movement — women have little or no control over their own bodies. The law bars women from access to abortion except under exceptional circumstances laid down by the state and implemented by the medical hierarchy.

This fact of the oppression of over half the population of the continent has been most dramatically brought to world attention by the actions of a group of French women and a group of West German women this Spring.

Early in April, 343 French women, most of them prominent writers, actresses and TV personalities, as well as members of The Women's Liberation Movement of France and The Movement for Freedom of Abortion, made a sensational demand for free access to contraceptive methods and freedom of abortion — by signing a statement — confessing to having had an abortion.

By this simple declaration, under the French abortion law, which has its origins in the Napoleonic Code, they were subject to two years in prison. Several hundred women have been convicted every year under this law. Between 1924 and 1940 there was on an average 300 to 400 abortion convictions yearly. During the Vichy period this rose to 3 to 4,000 convictions, but today the number has fallen back to its pre-war level. The overwhelming majority of those convicted are of course from lower

MEMBERS OF THE IRISH WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT leaving a chemist's in Northern Ireland with contraceptives which they took through the customs barriers of the Irish Republic in defiance of a law which bans importation or sale of contraceptives. Since a woman senator introduced a bill to repeal these laws a broad struggle and a movement has been developing. According to the London Observer "contraception is the issue which has drawn to them women of all classes in Irish society."

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income groups — too poor to take the abortion trains or planes to Geneva or London.

The French government has attempted to blunt the protest with concessions that sustain its main position. It has now conceded the sale of contraceptive devices in French pharmacies for the first time. It has also authorized abortions — but only under special conditions — where the mother's life is endangered, where there is a certainty the future child would be abnormal, and where pregnancy is the result of a proven act of rape. Thus French women still have no real control over their own bodies.

Even so the French Roman Catholic Church hierarchy, aided by the National Council of the Order of Physicians, mobilized strong opposition to any liberalization of the laws. They were aided in this by the powerfully-based and influential Communist Party of France. A statement by the political bureau of the Communist Party not only accepted the restrictions contained in the new government regulations, but explicitly rejected "theories which make the right of abortion one of the essential means of women's liberation...". But the statement of the 343 French women reads: "Free abortion on demand is not the ultimate goal of the struggle of women. On the contrary, it is only the most elementary demand, the demand without which the political struggle cannot even begin...".

A campaign is well underway to force the repeal of anti-abortion laws in West Germany where an estimated 400,000 illegal abortions are performed annually. These result in at least 50 deaths because of the conditions under which they are often performed. Thousands of German women who have the means now travel to London for the operation.

By the first week in June, 374 women had signed a public statement that they have had an illegal abortion and are therefore liable to imprisonment up to 5 years under Paragraph 218 of the Criminal Code. The campaign was given a special boost when 24 well-known West German women, among them actresses, journalists, singers, film stars and fashion models, had their pictures published on the front page of the June 2 issue of the weekly news magazine Stern, along with the confession: "We have had an abortion."

Legal proceedings have been opened against 14 signers, including movie stars Romy Schneider and Vera Tschechova. In German jurisprudence, state attorneys have no choice but to open legal proceedings against suspected law breakers, even if they accuse themselves.

In 1969 there were 276 prosecutions under the law. A town councillor in Hanau has filed charges against Tschechova on the grounds that West German democracy will be discredited if "ordinary" women are prosecuted, "while prominent film stars are able to provocatively publish the details of their own abortions."

The movement to repeal Paragraph 218 encompasses such women's groups as Women's Action '70 in Frankfurt and the Socialist Women's League in West Berlin. According to Der Speigel younger women members of the Social Democratic party and the Free Democratic party are joining the campaign.

The first action of the Movement for the Liberation of the Italian Woman, which held its initial national meeting this spring, is the promotion of a bill which would legalize abortions. Members are now trying to collect 50,000 signatures required to present a "vox populi" bill to the Italian parliament. Abortion is severely punished by laws, supported by the Roman Catholic church but framed by the former fascist and openly racist regime. They appear under a section of the Criminal Code entitled "crimes against the integrity and health of the race." The Vatican's newspaper L'Osservatore Romano has denounced the movement.

A recent congress of Italian gynaecologists stated that there were probably "between one and three million clandestine abortions" in Italy each year — others estimate four million. At least 20,000 Italian women die each year as the result of illegal abortions performed under outrageous conditions. This clandestine abortion racket is said to net its operators at least 82 million dollars a year.

Since the initiation of the signature campaign three senators of the Socialist party have tabled a bill to legalize abortions. However their proposal would place the decision in the hands of the authorities to decide if the mother's health is endangered, if the foetus is likely to be abnormal, or in case of proven rape or incest — rather than in the hands of the woman herself who is defined by the women's liberation movement as "the manager of her maternity."

One might think that the Netherlands, despite the fact that it has the lowest percentage of working married women in Europe, is well along the road towards the elimination of anti-abortion laws. It is sometimes depicted, along with the Scandinavian countries, to be in the vanguard, with its legalization of homosexuality, and its very colorful and active Dolle Mina movement.

Not so. Abortions are illegal in the Netherlands. The 175,000 strong Association for Sexual Reform, has as one of its major activities the obtaining of abortions — in England. The association says that it is sending 20 to 40 women a day on cut-rate abortion flights to England. Up to 3,000 women have gone through its services for an abortion there — at an inclusive price of $335.

With women of sufficient means going from all over the continent to England for abortions, it might appear that this question so crucial to women's liberation has been solved there by the legalization of abortion.

The four year old abortion act does not by any means grant a woman the right to make her own decision as to whether to have an abortion or not. The act evasively placed this crucial decision in the hands of the doctor, not the woman.

The 1967 law extended the right to abortion allowing it upon the approval of two doctors for eugenic reasons (because of a deformed fetus), or, if done to preserve the physical or mental health of the woman and her family.

The medical profession is against abortion on demand. Ninety-two percent of the consultants who answered the Royal College of Obstretricians and Gynaecologists survey, voted against it. Like the 47 percent of the RCOG consultants who want to exclude abortion on socio-economic grounds the British Medical Association from the outset has opposed the social clause which permits abortion on the grounds that the health of "existing children" of the family might be affected.

Many of the doctors opposing abortion on demand are consultants on the National Health Service and deprive women of the use of its facilities which should be completely available to them.

As a director of the Birmingham Pregnancy Advisory Service, a charitable abortion agency, noted, hospital consultants form a self-appointed bottleneck to abortion. "They often impose their own morality on patients." In 1970, she noted, 12,000 women turned to the BPAS for help, nearly 55 percent referred by their family doctors who had either tried or recognized the futility of trying to obtain Health Service abortion on other than strong clinical grounds.

The result is that of the 90,000 abortions performed in England and Wales a year only about 55 percent were obtained on the National Health Service.

The other 44 percent are carried out in the small number of tiny nursing homes that are approved by the Department of Health — the 54 private clinics that exist solely to make a profit. Since they cost from 200 to 300,000 dollars to construct to the department's standards, and doctors are prevented by the General Medical Council's strictures on advertising from getting the necessary clients, business interests operate them. The London Park View Clinic charges from $335 to $375 for an abortion, with doctor participants raking in fabulous incomes. The Langham Street Clinic made a gross income of almost $4 million a year.

This vicious exploitation of women seeking abortion serves to embolden traditionalists, religious bigots and obscurantists who oppose abortion in principle. They have been mounting a campaign designed to (1) intimidate those doctors who defend abortion on demand and are prepared to sign in good faith that a woman needs an abortion, and (2) to cut out of the Abortion Act those sections that imply the legality of abortion on socio-economic grounds.

June 20 saw some 8,000 persons march through the streets of Birmingham carrying placards enscribed Abortion Kills, to protest the abortion act. Speakers at the rally included Anglican and Roman Catholic church leaders and Muslim priests. Other organizations called The Society for the Protection of Unborn Children and Life, are carrying on intensive activity against the right to abortion. This campaign is having considerable effect. According to the London Times the Heath government is not licensing any more clinics because of the pressures of the anti-abortion lobby.

Even in England, where despite the dollar sign that has been placed around them, there is greater availability of abortion than anywhere else in Europe, abortion on demand remains a challenging issue before the women's liberation movement.

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Socialist Conference

Waterloo August 20-25

One of the featured speakers at the conference, Ross Dowson, Executive Secretary of the League for Socialist Action Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, will speak on "Fifty Years: Building the Revolutionary Party in Canada." Dowson, 53, has been a leader of the revolutionary movement in Canada since he first became active in politics during the depression of the Thirties. A participant in the unemployed youth movement of the time, he helped organize around the big issues of the day — unemployment in Canada, the Spanish civil war and the threat of fascism in Europe.

During the war, he was in the army, and led a number of struggles against the military. Since that time he has been active in every aspect of building the revolutionary movement in Canada, as editor of Labor Challenge, as a speaker and writer, and often as a **candidate in elections.**

Evelyn Reed has been active in the socialist movement for thirty years, specializing in the fields of anthropology and women's liberation. She is the author of "An Answer to the Naked Ape, and Other Books on Aggression" and "Problems of Women's Liberation". She will speak on the topic, "Have Women Always Been the Second Sex?"

George Novack will speak on "The Meaning of Life — a Marxist Analysis". He is a nationally-known scholar and writer, as well as an active socialist. His writings cover a wide range of topics related to basic Marxist ideas. Among his books are "An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism", "Existentialism versus Marxism", and most recently, "Democracy and Revolution". He is presently associate director of International Socialist Review, an American magazone of **socialist theory.**

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Clip and mail to
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.....I plan to attend the conference. Enclosed is my $25 registration fee.

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THE TAKEOVER BEGINS. Workers vote July 30 to take over John Brown yard of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, beginning struggle that could decide future of Scotland.

Scots workers occupy shipyards in bold action to save their jobs

by Ross Dowson

No longer controlled by bosses or government-appointed receivers — but by shop stewards elected from and by the union ranks, the towering shipyards that line the Clyde all the way to Glasgow are continuing to operate.

Wednesday August 18 in all probability will see the most massive demonstration in Scotland's turbulent labor history, under the banner that has been raised over the shipyards by the workers — the right to a job.

The thousands of shipbuilders, callously told by the Tory Heath government that they are going to be dumped on the scrap heap, are winning the support of the entire working population, along with the local authorities, university heads, the Church — who know that Glasgow, where 7.1 percent are already unemployed (15 percent in the borough of Clydebank) cannot live without the shipyards. The massive protest is slated to take place on the eve of the first layoffs — 200 to 400 which will rise to another 1,000 in September — wiping out two shipyards and the jobs of 6,000 workers — and which it is estimated will add to the scrap heap the jobs of another 20,000 workers dependent on these operations.

The shipyard workers, with mounting support from all layers of Scotland's population, have responded militantly and unitedly to the Tory government's decision to make them pay the price for the bankruptcy of the British capitalist system. Pushed into the background are the old inter-union rivalries, with Boilermakers serving under an AEF chairman and an ETU secretary.

As the government, through the Court of Session in Edinburgh on July 30, confirmed Robert Smith as liquidator, the

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Clyde struggle challenge to British labor

Continued from page 1

workers took over Upper Clyde Shipbuilders.

At 10:34, 60-year-old convenor of the boilerworkers, Gerry Ross, acting on behalf of the shop stewards, confronted the security officer at John Brown's main plant gate. "By the authority of the shop stewards' committee of the trade union movement of the Upper Clyde Shipyards," he said, "the workers hereby take over this yard. You will now take orders from the shop stewards only."

At 10:39, as told by London Times correspondent Vincent Hanna, the managing director demanded to speak to the yard unions' head convenor. A shop steward replied testily "He's busy at a meeting, he'll ring you when he has time." At 10:42 the stewards' committee went to the management offices in the yard, intending to force their way into the boardroom. "The door was unlocked and after a few minutes they came out again. The workers were in control."

This inspiring innovating act of refusal to accept closures and layoffs caught the government and the British ruling class off guard. While the takeover at John Brown's was complete it was only backed up by token occupations at Connells and Fairfield's, closed down for holidays until August 9. On that day these workers joined the struggle to make the occupiers a united force. The end of the first week saw record bonuses paid out to the 2,600 occupiers for unlawful work they carried out on three contracts.

The men estimate that there is enough steel for two months work. There is no problem about power, water or gas. Their brothers in the ETU have assured the occupiers that electric power can't be cut off at the yards except by cutting supply at switching stations outside each yard. "Work like that would never be completed," said Joe Black of ETU confidently. The committee is confident that gas supplies can be maintained if necessary by using bottled gas or even by "borrowing" supplies from the independent company next door, John Brown Engineering.

When the committee met liquidator Robert Smith they declared him redundant. They told him "we reject totally your plans. We do not think you should operate any longer from Linthouse." The stewards have declared that Smith, while allowed in the yards, will not be allowed to take anything out. When draughtsmen's boards that the liquidator had sold were due to be moved from Fairfield's on August 12, the men refused to let them out of the yard. Middle management, in the same boat as the men, has been giving tacit support to the occupation.

The general council of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, at first hesitant, has swung behind the takeover. Labor party leader Anthony Wedgwood Benn, whose government in 1968 brought together the five failing shipyards that now form UCS under 48 percent government ownership, but failed to nationalize them and modernize their operation, has been vigorously applauding the Clydeside action.

Benn's words that "this is an historic moment. . .this is the birth pangs of a new concept of industry. . .this is the stuff of which great events are made," has caused the editors of the Sunday Times to comment. "For him now to present himself as the Trotsky of Clydebank, uttering nostrums which were never heard from him when he had the power to enact them, is therefore an act of remarkably bold hypocrisy."

But the Secretary of Trade and Industry John Davies' comments, after a hot reception from a crowd of shipyard workers, was even more astonishing for its cynicism. "There are grains of comfort to be drawn from" the occupation, he whined. "There is an abvious desire on the part of the men to work and it is my intention to harness that."

A union convenor estimates that work could probably continue for about five weeks, even if supplies of materials were stopped by the government. But the battle can't and won't be won on Clydeside, but only by growing solidarity actions of various kinds by the Scottish and English working class organized in their unions and Labor party.

Growing support for the occupation has been shown by the accumulation of a fighting fund. In two days some 3,300 Pounds poured in to go with the 5,000 Pounds from the Scottish miners and John Lennon's and Yoko Ono's 1,000 Pound contribution. It is planned to use this fund to pay workers should the government go through with the first layoffs, and to keep them in the occupation.

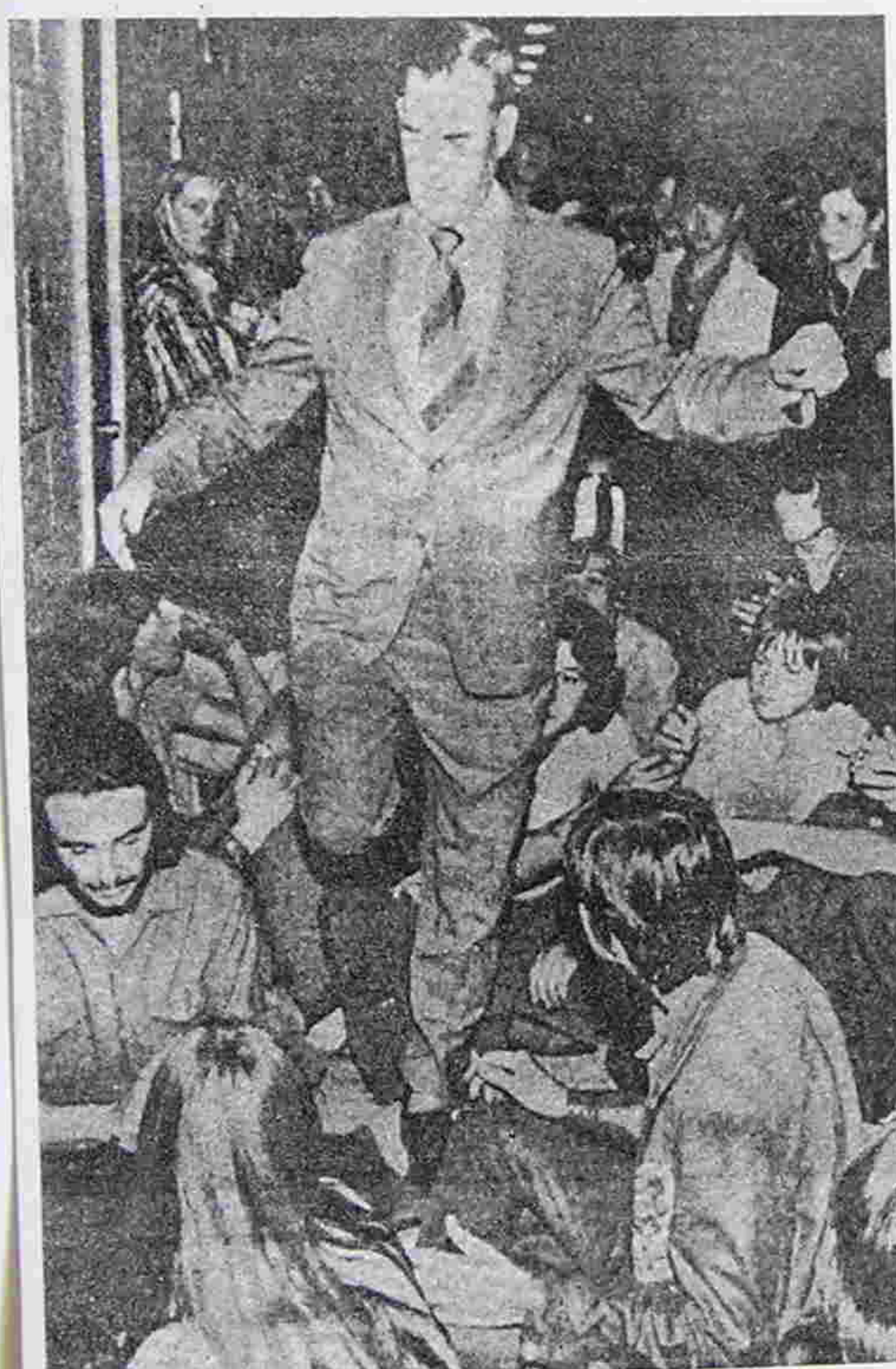
The demonstration this coming Wednesday (Aug. 18) will mark a big turn in the mobilization of support for the occupation. Success of the bold action by the shipyard workers now lies in the development of support actions of such scope as to block the Tory government from isolating the Clydeside struggle and gradually strangling it by blocking off supplies. To win, the struggle will have to be carried forward.

Powerful actions of solidarity, from mass meetings, street demonstrations to factory sit-ins from Scotland through the Midlands down into Coventry and London will be necessary. Labor party and trade union militants can play a big role in forcing the Wilson leadership to commit itself to nationalization of the shipyards under workers control.

Such a campaign of support behind the shipyard workers' refusal to accept layoffs and closures can lift up the mighty forces of British labor, revealed by the recent struggle against the Industrial Relations Bill, and carry it forward with increasing strength to bring down the Tory government and place labor in power on the road to a socialist Britain.

Ontario election supplement inside

NDP to power! – challenge in Ontario



STRUGGLE FOR FRENCH SCHOOLS. As election campaign opened, Ontario's Conservative government was confronted by militant demonstrations of Franco-ontarien students demanding French high schools. Above, school administrator picks his way through student sit-in outside school office in Sturgeon Falls. Story page 4.

FOR AN NDP GOVERNMENT. Trade unionists rally at Ontario legislature, Toronto, to call for defeat of "union-busting Tories." Now labor movement has opportunity to defeat the Tories and strike a tremendous blow for all Canadian working people by mobilizing behind NDP campaign, thrusting party to power in Ontario.

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Origins of Canadian Trotskyism

Lotta Dempsey, a columnist for the Toronto Star, told her readers in mid-August that if they "miss student protesters and their slogan placards here next weekend" one reason was "the Socialist Educational Conference at the University of Waterloo, where 400 are expected. . ."

Among the speakers at the conference, which in fact was attended by 450, was Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, who addressed the gathering on its major theme — Fifty Years of Revolutionary Socialism, 1921-1971. We reprint below major excerpts from his address.

What is all this about 50 years of revolutionary socialism — the display in the foyer, with its yellowing group-photo of a Canadian Labour Party convention in 1926, from which blow-ups have been extracted?

What's all this got to do with this gathering, not only a couple of generations removed but one so obviously "with it," one that is so completely "clued in" on all the ongoing actions of these days?

Besides, you might well ask, aren't we only needlessly complicating things when we attempt to relate ourselves to this event back in 1921 (the founding of the Communist party) when the Communist Party of Canada also relates itself to this same event and we will therefore have to extricate ourselves from all kinds of difficulties — for instance, Stalinism?

It seems to me that it is a matter of great importance — and if there had ever been any doubt in my mind about the correctness of today's revolutionists tying in with that band of revolutionists who assembled near here back in 1921, the trip up to Waterloo from Toronto clarified it for me.

We came up from Toronto a few days ago in a big hurry to attend the Saturday morning session — with a map — an

Ross Dowson

Ontario road map. Good enough to get us into the area. But we did not have a good navigator in the bucket seat. And it soon became obvious to us — that you can't get to where you want to go — if you don't know where you are! And you cannot possibly know where you are at — unless you know where you are coming from!

That assembly of men and women who gathered just outside Guelph 50 years ago are our beginning — even though not one of us was there.

That is not to deny that there is a whole series of events and personalities in the stormy history of the Canadian people which we firmly identify with — William Lyon Mackenzie, Louis-Joseph Papineau, the Indian Chief Poundmaker. But we live in the epoch of the world socialist revolution, the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism — and we have set ourselves the task as revolutionists to forge the instrument that will not only make that transition easier, but possible.

That is why we cannot start from any other point. From, say, the founding of the CCF or the NDP, which are not part of the revolutionary socialist tradition but are reformist. Nor even from the organization of the International Left Opposition. . .

We commenced with the coming together of all the best of a previous period of Canadian radicalization, who, having grasped the great significance of the first breakthrough that took place in Russia in 1917, founded in 1921 what was shortly to become known as the Communist Party of Canada. That is where our idea commenced. It is from there that our ideology, which we have tested and expanded, first took root in Canadian soil.

It is the good fortune of revolutionists here in Canada that not only can they trace out the origin and the development of their ideology, but that there is a direct continuity in the physical composition of the revolutionary cadre. It was not Tim Buck who was the founder of the Communist Party of Canada. He was only one of the participants and, as subsequent events showed, got in there through a misunderstanding.

The first general secretary was Jack MacDonald who held that post in the revolutionary days, until he was expelled in 1929. And the chairman of that party was Maurice Spector, its leading theoretician and publicist, who was expelled in 1928.

William Rodney in his valuably researched work Soldiers of the International — a history of the Communist Party from 1919 to 1929, has the work of that founding congress end in disarray, with the expulsion of Jack MacDonald in 1929. He accurately says that MacDonald's expulsion "marked the end of an era in the history of the Communist Party of Canada." But Rodney is wrong when, after relating how MacDonald joined Spector, he says their efforts ended in failure.

We here today are the fruits of their efforts, and I think that any impartial

Jack MacDonald

observer would say that Rodney's sentence is not only premature, it is dead wrong.

Tim Buck, the chief acolyte in Canada of Stalin and his heirs, has been compelled by Rodney's book to rewrite all his previous "histories" of the Communist Party of Canada.

Late last fall his book Lenin and Canada appeared. Of the some 91 pages of new material, 35 pages, or more than one-third, deal with what he calls "from political inexperience to the struggle for Leninism." When Buck says Leninism, he of course really means Stalinism. For Buck, as the CPC has crashed from one rock to another, disgorging leader after leader until he alone remains, is an unregenerate Stalinist. When Buck writes about the struggle to "Bolshevize" the cadre of the youthful CPC it soon becomes obvious that he means the struggle to Stalinize it. This was indeed a difficult process for there was one thing that

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marked out these men and women from the rest of their generation. They were genuine revolutionists.

In fact, they were Trotskyists.

Maurice Spector in the statement that he hurriedly submitted to the Political Committee of the CPC on November 6, 1928, denied the existence of this thing called Trotskyism. He was challenged to endorse the expulsion of three of his U.S. co-thinkers, including James P. Cannon from the Workers Party of America — and to agree to carry an aggressive campaign against the platform of the Opposition led by Trotsky in the CPSU.

He assured the political committee that "I am prepared to wage an aggressive campaign for Leninism" and went on to explain that Trotskyism as distinct from Leninism is a myth designed to obscure the real issues — which are the destruction of the Leninist party, its democratic centralist structure and the leninist doctrine — with the theory of "socialism in one country" today known as peaceful co-existence.

One of these early revolutionists, William Moriarty, attended the plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, where Trotsky and the Left Opposition were under vicious attack. Moriarty wired the Canadian party leadership for instructions as to how he should vote on the charge that Trotskyism is anti-Leninist and harmful to the cause of socialism.

MacDonald polled the party leadership and sent the following telegram to the ECCI and Moriarty: "The Executive Committee is not convinced on the basis of the evidence obtained that the Comintern is actually menaced and confronted with a system constituting Trotskyism ... that he (Trotsky) contemplates revision of Leninism ..."

Not even the censure of the authoritative Executive Committee of the Communist International was sufficient to cause the leadership of the youthful CP of Canada to buckle. MacDonald's report to the fourth national convention of the party, which as

Maurice Spector

Buck says, placed "the Canadian party squarely in Trotsky's camp," was adopted with only seven votes in opposition. Subsequently Buck went as a delegate to the 7th plenum of the ECCI where the campaign to drive Trotsky out of the CPSU and quash the Bolshevik opposition to Stalinism which he led, was at its height. Buck recalls how he returned to Canada with Mathew Popovitch "with the confident feeling that now the shoe was on the other foot. . .the Political Bureau and The Worker, we thought, will have to either accept or reject the line to which we have committed our party."

Over Spector's opposition, the Political Bureau adopted Buck's pro-Stalin report. Spector announced his resignation from the bureau and from the office as editor of the party press and chairman of the party. The meeting refused to accept his resignations and reaffirmed him in the posts. Buck was compelled to withdraw his motion that Spector should be required to change his vote on the resolution.

Subsequently Spector and MacDonald were elected to represent the CPC at the 6th World Congress of the Communist International, and Spector, on the recommendation of the CPC, was elected as a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. It was at that assembly of the Communist International that Spector, with James P. Cannon of the American party, came across Trotsky's Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International.

With this clarification in hand they decided to launch the world-wide struggle in support of Trotsky and against Stalin and his policies which transformed the Communist parties of the world from instruments for the socialist revolution in their own countries into border guards of the USSR and pawns in the diplomatic maneuvers of the Soviet bureaucracy.

What kind of men and women were they who gathered in a barn outside Guelph 50 years ago and issued forth to build the communist movement in Canada? They came out of the first important wave of radicalization that arose prior to World War I, peaked in the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike, and was dissipated in the economic boom of the '20s.

It was neither the character of the chief contestants, MacDonald-Spector versus Buck, or the merits of their respective programs, that decided the outcome of the struggle in the '30s. It was the prestige and authority of the Soviet Union, manipulated by the bureaucratic, parasitic caste that grew up on it — and the ebb of the radicalization processes in this country that paved the way for the Stalinization of the thin layer of vanguard elements who had come to the early Communist Party — and on the other hand assured the isolation of MacDonald and Spector and their supporters who had begun anew the struggle to build the Workers Party of Canada.

Buck won the essential cadre of the party which in the next wave of radicalization, with the great crash of 1929 and the rise of the CIO, carried the CP forward and thousands into its ranks. It grew despite its flagrant violation of the most elementary principles of class struggle politics. Its fatal flaw, its programmatic bankruptcy, has only become clear to many people with the crisis of its masters in the Kremlin, hit by the mounting struggle for socialist democracy, the rising struggle of the masses in the colonial world and in key sectors of the advanced capitalist world, which has exposed the counter-revolutionary character of the theory of peaceful co-existence — and, in this country, the rise of a mass labor party, the NDP.

We are of the same breed as the men and women who gathered together in Guelph in 1921. . .By all counts we stand in a better position than they did. Canada is now a highly urban society. The overwhelming majority are wage laborers. They are highly organized both on the union and political plane. And we are now witnessing a new wave of radicalization which is deeper and wider than any previous radicalization that we have known before, and there is no end in sight. . .

Today has significantly been called the age of permanent revolution. That is the age of the Fourth International and the coming of age of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere.

Newspaper barons take all

Behind the Tely closure

by Paul Kane

On Oct. 30, The Telegram, Toronto's third daily newspaper and the third largest circulation paper in the country, closes down. It was multi-millionaire owner and media tycoon John Bassett who made all the decisions all the way, cheek by jowl with his so-called chief competitor, the owners of the wealthiest, most influential and shrewdist propagandist for the Big Business interests that rule this country — the Toronto Daily Star. Many others got into the act over the last several months with all kinds of suggestions and advice, but the net result of it all was only to confuse the issue and play Bassett's and the Toronto Star's game.

There was only one proposal that could have saved the jobs of the 1,200 workers who will be walking the streets on Oct. 30, that could have captured the concern of many that there is now only one evening paper in the Toronto area, and would have marked a substantial stride forward to a genuine freedom of the press in this country. That is — if the trade union movement had taken the initiative, with the already assembled team of skilled newspaper workers now headed for the unemployed ranks and with its capacity to raise the necessary funds to launch a labor daily. What a boost that would have been to the critical struggle of the NDP to win power on Oct. 21!

The time is still opportune but the performance of none of those who have so far held the stage holds much promise that out of it all will come the badly needed labor daily.

When the Newspaper Guild's and Pressmen's union contracts with Bassett expired they sought the same wage increase that had been won from the Star. Bassett pleaded inability to pay. The union leadership demanded that the books be opened and Bassett complied. Accepting the departmentalization of Mr. Bassett's vast empire, satisfied that this particular segment did not pay, they failed to even suggest that the workers who had put their lives into the operation had any rights to their jobs — that the union take over the Telegram with a government subsidy such as is readily available to owners of innumerably other hard pressed or failing businesses.

Rather, the union leadership urged the workers to negotiate for a gimmick — a deferred wage increase, IOU's to help Mr. Bassett through. They carried off a strike vote but it didn't mean anything, for the real line was expressed by its opponents — Guild members and notorious columnists Dennis Braithwaite and Peter Worthington. They argued that a wage increase, even a deferred one, and a strike, would drive Mr. Bassett out of business and themselves to unemployment. The union leadership, if it didn't pick up their arguments, at least acted upon them, and took up their cry — Save the Telegram! Save Mr. Bassett's Telegram!

While all this was going on, Mr. Bassett and his hirelings were busy looking after his particular interests which happened to coincide completely with the interests of the Star and the Canadian capitalist class. He made a series of deals with both the Star and the Globe and Mail that paid him off handsomely and strengthened their media monopoly. The Star paid Bassett a cool 10 million dollars for the Telegram mailing list — still leaving him the plant to contract over to both the Star and the Globe and Mail on terms to fit their needs.

Meanwhile the NDP leadership both on the provincial and federal plane urged government intervention. Stephen Lewis suggested that the government give financial aid to multi-millionaire John Bassett. Federal leader David Lewis suggested grants and low interest bearing loans, sugar-coating the project with a few vague words about a "staff cooperative" at the same time as he assured that "I am not suggesting that the paper be taken over by the government." The trade union leadership rushed here and there with its Save the Telegram committee, searching for a possible new big business owner, and trying to work out enticing terms.

The first group was headed by Laurie Kingsland, former vice-president of Southam Business Publications. Very shortly he concluded that "it seems obvious that Bassett has no intention of selling, if he can avoid it, to anybody but the Star." The other big ploy involved Stephen Roman, chairman of Denison Mines, who made two offers.

Bassett claimed that Roman demanded guarantees, including a three-year employee wage freeze and a 20 percent reduction in staff. Roman flatly denied this and claimed that these were only excuses on Bassett's part. He too said that Bassett did not really want to sell the Telegram operation to a new owner. His contention was backed up to the hilt by the International representative of the Newspaper Guild who pointed out that not only had 20 percent of the staff left since Bassett announced the shutdown but that he had discussed with Roman a plan whereby the union would agree to a two year moratorium on bargaining with a built-in profit sharing arrangement, "if there are profits."

Having exhausted this gambit the leadership has come to a dead end. As Newspaper Guild president Marc Zwelling expressed it, the unions' negotiators have been lead down the garden path. The union brass has been compelled by its false strategy to shift to the ignominious plane of fighting with Bassett over the terms of severance pay. Bassett is trying to use the payoff benefits stipulated by provincial law to sidestep severance benefits which he claims he no longer has to pay with the termination of the Guild's contract. When the Telegram folds on Oct. 30 a key category employee who had been getting $190 a week would receive $2,000 less than if he had been paid full severance and 11

→top

STRIKING TYPOGRAPHICAL collaborated to smash unions in 1964 lo

JOHN BASSETT. Lack of leadership from unions allowed newspaper tycoon to close down Telegram without hindrance.

weeks pay in lieu of working the full 16 week notice period.

According to Robert Pryor, president of the Pressmen's Union, the Globe and Mail is negotiating a seven million dollar deal with Bassett to take over the Telegram building, plant and equipment which will be available in two years time after the Toronto Star's lease on them expires and it has its new Yonge Street facilities in full operation.

Earlier in the dispute the union estimated Mr. Bassett's operation was worth $13 million. With the Star's $10 million gift for the subscription list, plus the value of the plant, land and equipment, Bassett now has 20 million. Because of the Star's generosity Bassett got more for dissolving than selling the Telegram as a going concern, noted Toronto Guild president Marc Zwelling. And because of the bankrupt policy of the traditional working class leadership there are now 1,200 workers added to the unemployed ranks, the Big Business stranglehold on the mass media has increased, and a chance to launch a labor daily under auspicious circumstances that would have assured immediate success has been once again missed.

Newspaper strike fizzles out

What Douglas Hamilton, then secretary-treasurer of the Ontario Federation of Labor said back in July, 1964 is "the first battle in this country over who is going to reap the benefits of automation" -was quietly packed up and slipped out of sight last week.

Seven years ago Toronto's Big Three newspaper barons locked out 700 of their composing-room staffs organized in Typographical Union Local 91, climaxing a concerted and ruthless drive to block the workers from having any say over the computerization of several departments. The membership of the mailers' union joined them in solidarity. Over the next few months there was a wide response in support of the strikers throughout the organized labor movement — particularly from the Labourers' Union — and a powerful mood for a mass picket line to close the newspapers down. Sections of the trade union leadership, both in the printing trades and the labor council talked mass action but delayed and stalled it into the ground.

But it was the lack of unity, above all in the printing trades themselves, that rendered the unity of the typos and mailers ineffectual — particularly the Photoengravers and the Newspaper Guild who crossed the picket lines to work with scab composers and put out all three papers.

In reality the lockout-strike was lost long ago — it was only artificially sustained by individual actions of interference with newspaper circulation which resulted in the legal persecution of strikers and the strike fund of the International. It would appear that the top brass of the typographical unions finally decided to write finis to what has become a fruitless action of maintaining pickets as an assurance of collaboration to the newspaper tycoons as they have been deciding the fate of the Telegram.

Now, seven years later, after the expenditure of 13 million dollars of dues, the union leadership is quietly closing up the strike fund and seeking ways of re-establishing the 248 men who have sustained the picket lines.

In all this time no substantial progress has been registered in overcoming the disunity within the graphic trades. On the contrary the bosses have succeeded in widening differences amongst the unions.

But unification is the key challenge before the printing trades which are confronted with a continuing process of technological innovation. Without it they are certain to suffer more blows and face possible destruction.

Walkout breaks up N.B. NDP convention

by P. Kent

The annual convention of the New Brunswick NDP meeting in Saint John Sept. 25 adopted a "manifesto" proposed by the left-wing "Waffle" grouping with a vote of 41 for, 40 against and four abstentions. The convention also adopted by narrow majorities Waffle resolutions on women's rights, housing, cooperatives, and common ownership and workers' control. A Waffle-sponsored resolution on education policy was defeated by one vote.

The manifesto, called "totalitarian" by party leader J. Albert Richardson, includes such demands as "immediate common ownership, without compensation and under workers' control, of all major means of production, distribution and exchange," "immediate common ownership without compensation of all media," and abolition of compulsory education.

Following its adoption, six New Brunswick labor leaders walked out of the convention. They included Paul LePage, president of the New Brunswick Federation of Labor, the presidents of the Moncton and Newcastle labor councils, and the regional head of the Canadian Food and Allied Workers Union. They were shortly followed by a Canadian Labor Congress representative and the president of the St. John Labor Council, and then, following a caucus meeting, most of the remaining opponents of the Waffle.

Since there was no longer a quorum, the remaining delegates halted the convention without proceeding to the election of officers and reverted to a meeting of the provincial council, in which the delegates who had walked out participated. The council decided to continue the convention Oct. 16 in Fredericton.

"This party is in a state of crisis," announced Patrick Callaghan, provincial NDP president and a Waffle supporter. "We must resolve this crisis one way or another."

NDP leader Richardson said the manifesto would be contested and "revoked."

"I am an NDPer because I believe in the principles and policies of the NDP party. These people that passed the resolution do not — what they are trying to do is take the NDP party and form their own party," he told the St. John Telegraph-Journal.

"We can't ask labor to back this," commented NBFL president LePage. "What it means is that we'll have to take a close look at the party in New Brunswick to find out why the policy here is different from the rest of Canada."

Callaghan responded: "If the party is splitting then it is not the left wing that is breaking off. It is the people that walked out today."

The considerable support registered at the convention for the Waffle resolutions is an indication of the growing support for radical ideas in the Atlantic provinces, in the first place among the students and youth. But New Democrats and all socialists can only be gravely concerned at the sharp bitterness of the polarization in the New Brunswick party which, if it proceeds, can split the party and thereby isolate the left still further from the main forces of the labor movement.

These political differences have profound ideological roots. But, one is bound to ask, to what degree does the conflict over program flow out of real living experience in the mass movement?

The New Brunswick NDP is very small, with only two or three hundred members. It has barely begun to tackle the giant task of sinking roots into the working population of the province — one of the most oppressed sections of the Canadian working class.

The Waffle program put forward at this convention itself reflects this newness. While its stated radical objectives express the openness of its supporters to deepgoing social change, at the same time many elements in the program reflect the undeveloped nature of the views of this left wing.

For example, how comprehensible to large numbers of workers at their present stage of development, is a program that repeatedly defines its "immediate" objective as the nationalization of "all major means of production, distribution and exchange" — including all manufacturing industries — "without compensation and under workers control"? And how seriously can one consider a program that naively calls for "abolition of compulsory education, except for the requirement that children complete, at some time between the ages of five and ten years, a program of appropriate length, not to exceed three years, suitably designed to develop basic language and mathematical skills"?

Similarly, the call in the Waffle resolution on trade unions for a "socialist" leadership in the unions ignores or skips over the primary task in this period, characterized by growing militancy with only the first stages of political awareness: the formation of militants' caucuses in the unions mobilized around demands for trade union democracy and defense of workers' living standards.

It is doubtful, to say the least, that any sizeable group within the New Brunswick working class, which is not yet even at the level of recognizing in the NDP its own political party, is likely to be influenced by such appeals.

The left should see as its main task in this period, not to give the right wing leadership the pretext of disbanding the party — but rather to create a milieu within the party that permits the left to advance its viewpoint.

Having established clearly the measure of support it enjoys among the present limited forces in the party, the Waffle can take the initiative in attempting to cool the crisis. It should declare its readiness to collaborate with even the existing leadership of the trade union movement in building a party rooted in the organized labor movement.

The convention that reconvenes Oct. 16 should be seen by the left, not as a dead-end confrontation with the right wing, but instead as a vital opportunity to continue educating the NDP, and through it, the broad ranks of the working class, as to the relevance and necessity of the socialist alternative.

The crucial consideration is to preserve the NDP, to maintain it and build it for the day when the left can truly come to grips with the reformist leadership, based solidly on a mass working class base and therefore armed with a solid mandate for a radical program and leadership.

labor Challenge #43, Nov. 8, 1971

New Brunswick events spark debate

What role for socialists in NDP?

by P. Kent

The article "Walkout breaks up N.B. NDP convention" was written on the eve of the Oct. 16 Fredericton meeting which culminated in a split of the New Brunswick NDP.

It was addressed to those New Brunswick radicals who identify with the Waffle – not to the NDP liberal-reformist leadership. We did not hope to influence latter in their course but rather to help create circumstances which would make it more difficult for them to achieve their purpose, and to aid the left. It was fraternal advice from an activist in the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere – an attempt to exchange experiences between socialists.

Its primary aim was to convince those who have been carrying on the fight for a socialist policy in the New Brunswick NDP to cool things down, insofar as they were able, and not "give the right wing leadership a pretext for disbanding the party – but rather to create a milieu within the party that permits the left to advance its viewpoint."

We urged the left to take a positive attitude of identity to the New Brunswick NDP which is still in its infancy, to help "build it for the day when the left can truly come to grips with the reformist leadership. . .To declare its readiness to collaborate with even the existing leadership of the trade union movement in building a party rooted in the organized labor movement."

Our correspondent P.B. disagrees: "This is definitely not the task facing revolutionaries and leftists in the party – this is in no way the crucial consideration."

It would seem from their decision to go ahead with the Fredericton meeting as a convention, and their election of officers, including the mock defeat of the former party leader in absentia, that the leadership of the left wing shared P.B.'s opinion. For in effect, on Oct. 16 they consummated a split.

P.B. projects the need to decisively terminate the NDP experience in New Brunswick now, and to build a mass working class party with a revolutionary leadership, outside the NDP, and against it, now, in New Brunswick.

The LSA-LSO shares the revolutionary aspirations expressed by P.B. But while to come to an understanding of the need (as we would express it) to build a mass revolutionary vanguard party, is a colossal leap in consciousness, it is still far from its realization.

By carrying through the struggle to the present split, the left wing has not by any means cleared its liberal-reformist NDP and trade union opponents from the arena.

P.B. is of course well aware of the strength of the NDP in Ontario and B.C., and the fact that it is in office in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. However, New Brunswick, where the NDP is quite weak, is an exception, P.B. suggests.

It is difficult not to think, though, that the weakness of the NDP is directly related to the low level of class consciousness and class organization in New Brunswick. Furthermore, for New Brunswick to be an exception is to count

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REVOLUTIONARY LEFT can't be built by bypassing NDP, P. Kent argues in reply to a reader. NDP activists must link the party, as an important political arena for radicalizing workers, with all ongoing mass movements for social change.

heavily on the NDP top brass not intervening with the prestige and resources at its disposal in support of the right wing. It is to count heavily on the federal leadership, (who even as a serious parliamentary force must accumulate forces in New Brunswick) deciding to let things take their course there for some time.

It may well be that the left has succeeded in giving the majority of party activists, still quite modest in number and inexperienced, some rudimentary concepts of socialism. But it was through the NDP connection that these activists largely students and other petty bourgeois types, had the possibility of making contact with workers moving in the direction of anticapitalist struggle. Through this schism and the confusion that must inevitably ensue this linkage has been badly disrupted.

Even should the federal NDP and the New Brunswick reformists leave the arena relatively clear to the left – what perspective is there for a formation with a program such as the Manifesto around which it has coalesced?

It is obvious from its ultraleft and utterly naive character that this program does not develop out of any real experience, either in New Brunswick, Canada or the world. It is a literary work revealing the essentially petty-bourgeois student character of this formation. For all its radical sounds it is essentially reformist.

A revolutionary leadership capable of building a mass working class party cannot be built without a developed program. It cannot be built in one province. It cannot be built without a Canada-wide and world outlook.

The new formation which has been launched is a very rudimentary vessel – without any substantial program and without a leadership that has any real common experience and understanding. It is without charts and without the necessary skilled elements around which to build a crew.

The former NDP left, if it ever heard it, has rejected the LSA-LSO's advice. It would appear that such comrades as P.B. misunderstand it, possibly thinking that we hold to some concept of stages about the political development of the Canadian working class. We see the NDP as a tremendous political fact completely outside of our will that cannot be got around – even in New Brunswick. We are convinced that life will show that. Be that as it may, the LSA-LSO is the bearer of 50 years' experience in this country in building the revolutionary vanguard, firmly based on a world program of socialist revolution embodied in the Fourth International founded by Trotsky.

It is our opinion that the forces that have come this far in New Brunswick are now confronted with the gravest danger of adventurism and demoralization. It is important that it be possible for joint discussions to take place on the understanding we share, the need to build a revolutionary party.

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Reader says we're wrong on the NDP

Dear Comrades:

As a long-time reader of Labor Challenge and as a revolutionist who supports the Waffle movement in the NDP, I was strongly disturbed by the article entitled "Walkout Breaks Up New Brunswick NDP convention" by P. Kent in the Oct. 11 issue of your paper.

For years Labor Challenge and revolutionaries working in the NDP have rallied around the slogan "Win the NDP to Socialism." Comrade Kent states that the task facing socialists in the New Brunswick party is to "create a milieu within the party that permits the left to advance its viewpoint." This is definitely not the task facing revolutionaries and leftists in the party. In all provincial sections of the party the Waffle has been able to put forth its view and has succeeded in winning large sections of the party to its views. The author of the article should recall the last Ontario NDP convention where the Waffle was able to win more than 40 percent of the delegates to its major positions.

In New Brunswick where the NDP is not yet a labor party, the Waffle has succeeded in winning a majority of the party activists to a socialist program. The task that faces revolutionaries there is to lead these activists beyond a socialist program (i.e. immediate nationalization). Inside the party we must educate and train the activists to lead the struggles of the workers and all oppressed groups in society which are surely coming in New Brunswick. The party itself must develop a program which can lead the workers toward implementing the program of the party. By leading the party activists correctly, revolutionaries can win large numbers of them to the ranks of revolutionary socialism.

The crucial consideration can in no way be "to preserve the NDP, to maintain it, and build it for the day when the left can truly come to grips with the reformist leadership" as Comrade Kent states. The task of building a mass working-class party is of course crucial but such a party does not by definition have to have a reformist leadership. In fact, the task facing the radical and revolutionary sectors of the New Brunswick party is to develop it into a tool of the working class by leading all oppressed groups and the working class forward. By developing a strategy of working in the potentially mass anticapitalist movements and in the embryonic trade unions, revolutionaries can create the leadership necessary to lead the socialist revolution when the radicalization of the working class begins in the Atlantic Region.

Yours for socialism,

P.B.

Toronto, Ont.

labor Challenge #43 – Nov. 8, 1971

11-08-1c

Split in New Brunswick NDP

The fledgling New Brunswick New Democratic Party is staggering from crisis to crisis. In effect, it is now split in two.

The crisis broke out into the open at the party's annual convention held in St. John Sept. 25 with the walkout of key trade union leaders when the delegates adopted with a one-vote margin a manifesto proposed by a left-wing formation. Other elements later joined the walkout so that there was no longer a quorum.

The left-wing formation has been designated as Waffle, but to date no leading spokesperson of this broad NDP left wing has commented on the situation. The manifesto which won 41 votes, reflecting a certain radicalization in the area, largely at this time confined to student youth, contains many excellent ideas. However, as a whole it does not develop out of any substantial experience of any important sector of the working people of the province.

Following the blowup of the convention a provincial council meeting was held in which the delegates who had walked out participated. The council decided to continue the convention in Fredericton on Oct. 16. Party leader Albert Richardson charged that there were irregularities in the convention and appealed to the federal leadership of the NDP to intervene. Richardson and other executive members held a meeting over the Thanksgiving weekend which decided to postpone the convention.

On Oct. 16, Patrick Callaghan, president of the party and the leading spokesman of the left, called a meeting in Fredericton of the provincial council which was attended by some 10 persons and adjourned to participate in what they declared to be the official convention taking place that afternoon. This meeting was followed by a provincial council meeting called by party leader Richardson. It was attended by some 50 persons, including apparently some of those who had attended the Callaghan meeting.

Richardson's report that a petition had been sent to the federal leadership to render a decision on the procedure of the St. John convention aroused considerable protest, with J. Baxter of Fredericton stating that the federal leadership had no right to intervene in the affairs of the provincial section.

Following a sharp debate, the council, by a vote of 29 to 10, postponed the convention and decided to call a special one — five weeks later in Chatham on Nov. 27. According to John Boyle of Sackville the majority of the provincial executive and all the provincial officers, with the exception of the president and the treasurer, agreed to the postponement of the convention.

Nevertheless, Callaghan and his supporters convened what they designated as the convention. It adjourned after five and a half hours of decisions including election of officers. Richardson was nominated party leader in absentia and defeated by Callaghan by a vote of 63 to 2.

Federal NDP secretary Clifford Scotton has since told the press that in his opinion the Fredericton convention has no validity and that the NDP federal council will be discussing the situation at its meeting in Ottawa Nov. 12-14.

To date the Callaghan forces have not made known whether they will continue to attempt to establish the legitimacy of the St. John and now the Fredericton meetings as the official convention of the New Brunswick NDP. Or whether now, faced with Richardson and his trade union supporters being backed by the NDP federal party leadership, they will in effect try to establish a new political formation in the province of New Brunswick.

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Stop Amchitka, Stop the war!

B.C. labor stops work in protest

labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 21 (43) November 8, 1971 15 cents

Part of the anti-Amchitka rally of 8,000 in Toronto massed in front of U.S. consulate.

NOV. 3 — Across Canada, hundreds of thousands of people are mobilizing in opposition to the impending U.S. nuclear explosion at Amchitka Island.

Particularly impressive are the whole new layers of students and workers who have played a leading role in the protests.

Many of them have linked their opposition to the Amchitka blast with a protest against the continuing U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia and the Canadian government's complicity in the war.

In the past two days, massive marches have been held in all the major cities.

In Vancouver today, 6,000 — mainly students — braved a freezing, drenching rain to rally at the U.S. consulate while an estimated 50-60,000 workers across the province downed tools for 30 minutes in a "Shutdown for Survival" initiated by the B.C. Federation of Labor. It was the first such work stoppage for a political protest since the strike against war in 1919.

In Toronto, the Ontario Federation of Labor convention adjourned while the 1,200 delegates marched on the U.S. consulate. A second demonstration at the consulate drew over 8,000 students later in the afternoon.

In Victoria, 4,000 participated in an anti-Amchitka rally organized by the recently-formed Student Amchitka Anti-war Committee. They were addressed by B.C. NDP leader Dave Barrett and representative of the anti-war movement and the Young Socialists.

In Saskatoon, between 3,000 and 5,000 demonstrated — about 3 percent of the city's total population.

Featured speaker at the Regina rally at the legislature was NDP premier Allan Blakeney.

In Winnipeg, close to 3,000 surrounded the U.S. consulate Nov. 2 in a rally sponsored by the students' councils of the two universities.

In Edmonton hundreds of students cut classes and demonstrated. In Guelph, Ont. over 1,000 participated in a teach-in at the university. Thousands of students demonstrated at various border crossings.

While the Amchitka blast was the main target of the protests, in many instances, speakers and demonstrators have linked Nixon's arrogant flaunting of public opinion in proceeding with the test, with Washington's war of aggression in Southeast Asia. A recurrent theme was "Stop Amchitka — Stop the War!" The demonstrations coincide with the Nov. 3

Quebec labor rallies against cop assault

T FUNERAL of Michele Gauthier, young oman killed in brutal police assault on aceful demonstration of over 10,000 against La Presse. In foreground are presidents of Quebec's three labor federations.

by Phil Courneyeur

"It's murder, plain murder."

That's how Louis Laberge, president of the Quebec Federation of Labor, described the death of Michele Gauthier during the police assault on the Oct. 29 labor demonstration in Montreal against La Presse.

The massive demonstration, estimated between ten and fifteen thousand strong, was organized by the three main labor federations of Quebec — the Confederation of National Trade Unions, the Corporation of Quebec Teachers and the QFL.

The police confronted the demonstrators with a "wall of shame" at Viger Square — solid lines of cops who stopped the demonstration and then charged into the crowd. Hundreds of people, including Laberge, were clubbed. Michele Gauthier suffocated to death after she fell in the face of the police assault.

Quebec-Presse, the labor weekly, reports that hundreds were wounded and says that two, possibly three, died. Only Gauthier's death has been confirmed.

The police assault on the peaceful demonstration was carried out on orders from Mayor Jean Drapeau. Drapeau acted on the basis of a municipal anti-

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How the left intervened in the NDP election campaign

by Anne Macdonald

Socialists had a tremendous opportunity in the recent Ontario elections to intervene in this period of intense political activity and interest. They shoulder the responsibility for deepening and extending working class politics beyond the opportunist vote-grabbing level on which the NDP's present leadership poses it.

Through orienting the main sectors of the present radicalization — the students, women's liberationists, anti-war activists, etc. — to the NDP campaign, socialists attempted to show how these forces could advance around the concept of "labor to power" through an NDP government. They sought to use the election campaign to influence the NDP and make it more relevant to broad layers of the working class.

The revolutionary socialists of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists participated in the NDP campaign in this spirit. Many helped distribute over 12,000 copies of the Labor Challenge special election supplement at election meetings, plant gates and NDP rallies. With a banner headline, "For an NDP Government," the supplement put forward a socialist analysis of the key issues of the election.

Steve Penner

The Young Socialists distributed almost 30,000 printed leaflets to university and high school students across Ontario, urging young radicals to get involved in and build the NDP campaign. "Youth for the NDP" rallies held in several major Ontario cities were built with the initiative and support of the Young Socialists.

Since the election campaign coincided with the joint Labor Challenge-Young Socialist subscription drive, supporters of the two newspapers went door-to-door in areas of strong NDP support gaining hundreds of new readers for the socialist press.

As well, LSA members helped in the NDP canvassing. In the Toronto area alone, they were active in no fewer than 20 of the 28 ridings.

A major cause of the current economic crisis, the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, was raised in the NDP when anti-war activists publicized the upcoming Nov. 6 anti-war mobilizations. Many NDP candidates agreed to sponsor the actions and some riding associations included leaflets advertising the anti-war rallies with their mailings to campaign workers.

Women's liberation activists attended election rallies, challenging the candidates as to where they stood on repealing the anti-abortion laws. The NDP became the only party to support repeal when it adopted a motion to that effect by the Waffle at its last convention.

To be effective enough to seriously influence and shape the NDP campaign, however, this approach of linking the extraparliamentary movement with the NDP's electoral effort had to be carried by the broad left within the party, the "Waffle."

The Waffle enjoys wide support within the party ranks. Its radical "manifesto" was supported by 47 percent of the delegates at the last convention and the NDP's official policies on women's rights, housing and public ownership of energy resource industries were originally Waffle-sponsored resolutions.

The right wing did its best to isolate the Waffle. The few official party candidates who are Waffle supporters all faced hotly contested nomination struggles. At least one of the Waffle candidates, Steve Penner, was deprived of financial aid from the provincial office. NDP leader Stephen Lewis went out of his way to dissociate the party from the Waffle in several unprovoked public attacks on the party's left wing during the campaign.

All three Waffle candidates, however, succeeded in significantly increasing the NDP vote in their ridings, two of them coming very close to winning.

Unfortunately, the Waffle did not utilize its possibilities fully. When the Waffle leadership posed the election of Waffle candidates to office as a key priority at an election strategy meeting Sept. 19 in Toronto, they were underwriting to a large extent the same concept of electoralist politics the NDP leadership holds. By drawing activists to the Waffle candidates' campaigns, not giving political leadership to activists in all ridings, they missed the opportunity to educate the party as a whole in left politics and to sink deeper roots in all the ridings where Waffle supporters were active.

Nor did the Waffle candidates use many of the better parts of the NDP's present program. For example, none of them even mentioned in their campaign literature the party's support of women's right to abortions on request.

The Waffle-led intervention in the Texpack strike served more as a diversion from the election campaign, since it required disproportionate efforts from Wafflers who were attempting to substitute for the mainstream of the labor movement which failed to come behind the Texpack campaign.

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NDP must run full slate in Toronto

by Anne Macdonald

TORONTO — Will the working people of Toronto be offered a clear and strong alternative to big business government in the 1972 municipal elections? Will the NDP run a full slate to meet the needs of the vast majority of the population?

Although past municipal and provincial NDP conventions answered these questions with an unequivocal "yes", the emergence of CO 72 is causing NDP members at all levels to consider a tretreat from their previous commitment.

CO 72 is a new formation based on the concept of "community control". It rejects party politics at the municipal level, posing instead a multi-class "coalition" of civic-minded "reformers".

Already NDP, Liberal and independent aldermen, Communist party supporters and "community leaders" from predominantly middle class ratepayers groups have swung behind CO 72.

Prominent leaders of the Toronto Labor Council were among the initiators of CO 72. The NDP Toronto Area Council has deferred a decision on its approach to CO 72, but there is some support for participating in it.

The NDP entered the Toronto municipal arena for the first time in 1969. While it had a strong basic reform program, the overall effort was weak. The party failed to run a full slate for council; it did not run a mayoralty candidate; it left the whole Board of Education unchallenged. The three NDP aldermen who were elected rarely used the Council platform to publicize and counterpose the broad alternatives of the NDP's program to the corruption and pettiness of the present big business-dominated Council.

Now the NDP is threatening to repeat this. There are suggestions of only a partial slate, and no-contest deals with other CO 72 candidates.

Surely a strong struggle against Big Business domination of municipal politics can only be taken up consistently by a working class party with links in the provincial and federal arenas. Surely a strong municipal base for the NDP would aid its efforts at all levels of government.

Rather than stepping back from its 1969 commitment, the NDP must use the coming municipal elections to deepen its roots in its own community — the community of working people.

In 1969, the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists fielded candidates for mayor, City Council and Board of Education.

In the face of the danger that the NDP might once again fail to field a full slate of candidates the LSA-YS issued a public statement to a recent meeting of the Toronto Area Council of the NDP. The statement called on the NDP to "enter the 1972 elections with a full slate of candidates headed by a mayoralty candidate."

"Failure to do so," the statement added, "would be to abandon the majority of Torontonians to the Liberals and Tories and the illusions fostered by CO 72. In this event, the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists. . .are prepared to enter a slate of candidates. . .to provide a clear class alternative to the working people of Toronto."

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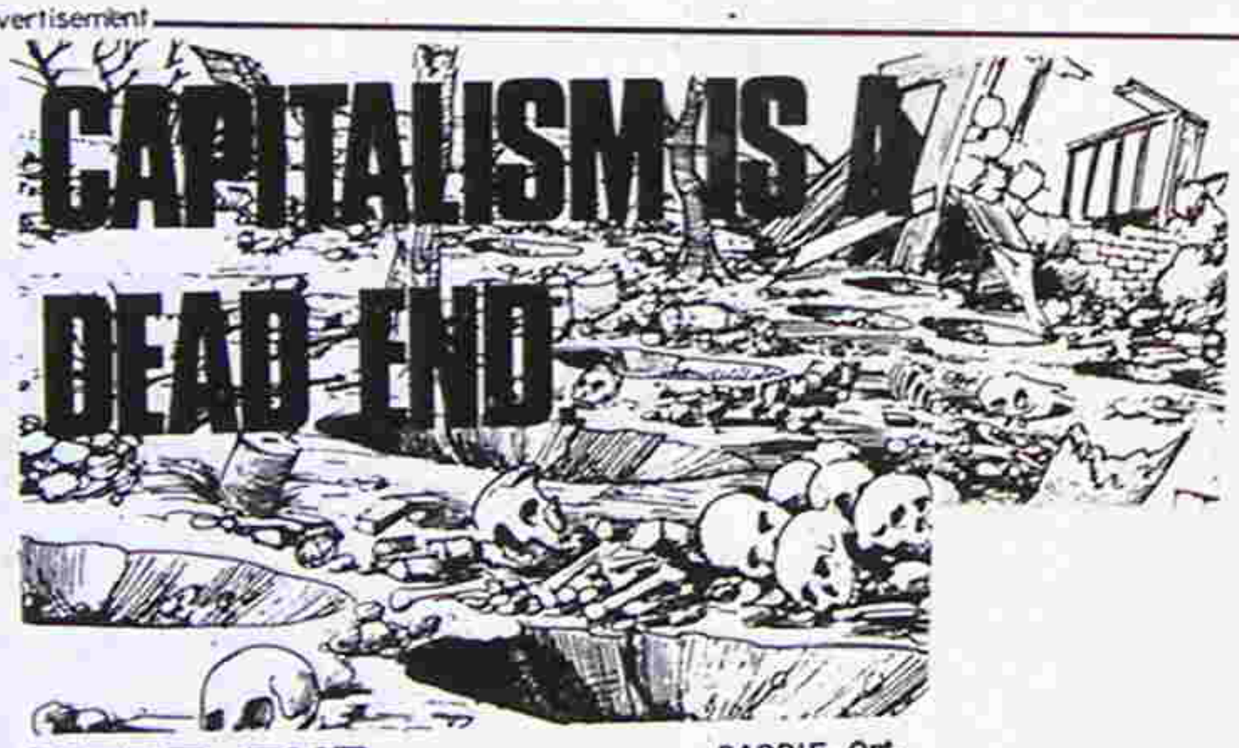

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Leon Trotsky

Trotskyism and world revolution

by Ernest Mandel

Many observers have commented on the rising strength of Trotskyism, particularly among radicalizing youth, in recent years. Even the Soviet bureaucracy and Moscow-oriented Communist parties around the world have been forced to launch an "ideological" campaign against Trotskyism — a tendency they claimed to have wiped out long ago. But their "ideological" campaign is nothing more than a re-hash of the old Stalinist slanders. Ernest Mandel, a leading figure in the Fourth International, explained the real meaning of Trotskyism in a debate with Monty Johnstone, a leader of the British Communist party, in November, 1969. The following four pages of Labor Challenge comprise Mandel's introductory remarks in the debate. They are reprinted from the June 1970 issue of International Socialist Review.

Ernest Mandel is a Marxist economist and theoretician who will be undertaking an extensive tour of Canadian universities in December. He is presently editor of La Gauche, a revolutionary socialist weekly newspaper in Belgium.

He is also a contributing editor to Intercontinental Press, published weekly in New York.

Manel is the author of a number of works, including a two-volume treatise on Marxist Economic Theory.

Information on the Mandel tour may be obtained by writing to the Young Socialists, 334 Queen St. West, Toronto 133, or by contacting the YS in your area.

Ernest Mandel

The very fact that Monty Johnstone is here debating with me this evening on the problem of Trotskyism today should in itself be considered evidence of what Trotskyism is not. I am not going to insult the intelligence of anyone present by saying that it is not counterrevolutionary or an agency of fascism, or an agency of imperialism, or any of that nonsense. For if that were the case, not only would this debate not take place but many other things which have been happening in the world in the last few years would be incomprehensible.

One thing Trotskyism is not is a defeated tendency in the international workers movement. It is not a Menshevik-type revision of Marxism that has been crushed definitively, as was said in the Soviet Union in its fifteenth party congress in 1927; as was repeated by the unfortunate Nikita Sergeivitch Khrushchev at the twentieth party congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956; as has been repeated over and over again in innumerable publications under the control of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Because, if it were really a crushed, defeated, nonexistent, eliminated, Menshevik tendency, why would anybody want to discuss with it? Why is Monty Johnstone here debating? Why is the Soviet bureaucracy after having crushed, destroyed, eliminated and vanquished this tendency, forty, thirty, twenty, and ten years ago, why are the spokesmen for these bureaucrats today forced to write books, pamphlets, and articles and keep coming back to this problem? Why have there been three or four new books on Trotskyism published in the Soviet Union in the last twelve months, if ours is a definitively defeated tendency?

So I think that the first point we ought to make this evening is to render historical justice to the founder of the Red Army and to the leader of the insurrection of the October revolution which initiated the first victorious working-class revolution in a whole country. On this ninetieth anniversary of the birth of Leon Trotsky, which coincides with the anniversary of the October revolution, the political movement he founded, the ideas he stood for, the program he defended, live stronger than ever in the world.

There is today a vibrant youth movement. Thousands of young people are coming to Trotskyism all over the world. And that is the only reason Monty Johnstone of the Communist Party feels obliged to debate with us about Trotskyism, that is the only reason why the Soviet bureaucracy has to put out a steady stream of speeches,

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labor Challenge

New upsurge of world revolution in recent years has posed anew the basic ideas of revolutionary socialism defended by Trotsky. Left to right, Czech struggle of 1968 was for socialist democracy and overthrow of Stalinism; Cuban revolution projected socialist path for colonial and semicolonial world; and French workers' revolt of 1968 reaffirmed revolutionary potential of working class in advanced capitalist countries.

Mandel: 'Trotskyism lives and grows because it stands for revolution.'

pamphlets, magazine articles and books on the subject of Trotsky.

Trotskyism today is mainly a youth movement, a movement of youth that is being built and expanded on the five continents. For that very same reason I am not going to dwell in the least on the question that Monty Johnstone is going to talk about quite a lot: What Trotsky wrote or did not write in 1905, in 1912, in 1917, or in 1918. For I want to say from the beginning that this is pretty irrelevant to the actualities of the contemporary revolutionary struggles. Does anyone really think that 250,000 people vote for a Trotskyist presidential candidate in France, does anyone really think that in Ceylon today a Trotskyist trade union leader leads tens of thousands of workers in big strikes, does anyone really think that tens of thousands of people demonstrate behind banners which the whole of public opinion in Japan today calls Trotskyist, because of what Trotsky wrote in 1907 or 1912?

The overwhelming majority of these people have not read what he wrote and are not interested in reading all that—this is a mistake on their part, because everybody should be interested in the history of the revolutionary movement—but they rightly regard that as irrelevant to the main problem which we have to understand and explain: What is the origin, what is the root of the strength of world Trotskyism today, why do thousands and thousands of people flock to its banner on a world scale, and why do the Soviet bureaucrats and Monty Johnstone, their British spokesman, have to reopen a debate which they hoped had been finished with machine-gun bullets thirty or thirty-five years ago, in the period of the infamous Moscow trials?

I will give four basic reasons why the Trotskyist movement is stronger now than ever before; why thousands of people are adhering to it throughout the world; why it has a bigger numerical, geographical and political extension than ever before, even during the 1920s, while it was still a tendency inside the Communist parties and the Communist International.

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The first reason has to do with a basic problem of the colonial revolution and the way forward for the underdeveloped, semicolonial countries. Stalinism and Stalinist parties, parties which call themselves Communist, still follow a Menshevik or semi-Menshevik policy. That is, they believe as the Russian Mensheviks believed, that because these countries are backward, because the industrial bourgeoisie has not yet come to political power, that the immediate strategic task for the working class and poor peasantry is somehow to establish an alliance with this national bourgeoisie against imperialism and against feudal and semifeudal forces. The aim of such an alliance would be to arrive at a coalition form of government—a "government of the four classes" as it was called in China from 1925 to 1927—a government of the "National Front," or a regime of "National Democracy," as it was called in the new official program of the Soviet Communist Party.

Experience has confirmed what Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution proclaimed as early as 1906, that there is no way out for any underdeveloped colonial or semicolonial country along such a road; that any struggle that limits itself to fighting against rural feudal or semifeudal landlords, or foreign imperialism, while keeping the national bourgeoisie in power, while maintaining capitalist property relations intact, while refraining from establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat allied to the poor peasantry, will inevitably leave these underdeveloped countries backward, stagnating, exploited and superexploited by international and national capital.

Such a policy will not be able to tear the millions populating these countries out of their age-old miseries. Experience has also taught a much more terrible lesson. Thousands and thousands of Communists in Brazil in 1964, in Iraq in 1958, and five hundred thousand Communists in Indonesia in 1965 had to pay with their lives for the illusion that it was possible, desirable, or necessary to establish durable relationships of coalition and collaboration with bourgeois or semibourgeois political forces. Such a subordination and sacrifice of independent mass struggle can only lead to crushing defeat for the working class and the poor peasantry.

Trotskyism lives and grows, wins new members, attracts new tendencies and builds new parties in the underdeveloped countries because it stands for this basic rule of revolution. There is no way out for these colonial and semicolonial countries but the way of the permanent revolution. There is no possibility of acquiring real national liberation, real independence from imperialism, without overthrowing the bourgeois class together with the agents of foreign imperialism and the feudal and semifeudal landlords. There is no possibility of liberating the people, peasants and workers, without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat allied with the poor peasantry, without creating a workers state. Only in those countries where this happened—China, Cuba, North Vietnam, and it's happening now in South Vietnam—is there a way to social and economic progress. Wherever, through the responsibility of the Communist parties following the Moscow line, which is Stalinist Menshevism, that has been prevented from happening, there have been defeats, misery, tears and bloodshed for the working people of these countries.

It is this contemporary reality, rather than quotations from 1907, 1917, or 1921, that has to be faced by anyone who wants to understand what is going on in this sector of the world revolution. For the Trotskyist movement, for the revolutionary Marxists throughout the world, it was a moment of great vindication when the leading idea of the permanent revolution—that the only road to victory in a backward country is through a socialist revolution—was taken over by the Cuban revolutionaries and proclaimed in the Second Declaration of Havana, after the first victorious revolution in the Western Hemisphere. This gave proof that Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International

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— advertisement

by Ernest Mandel

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…(are) one hundred per cent correct in their strategic (evaluation of) underdeveloped countries.

The second reason for the growth of Trotskyism on a world scale is that we stand completely and unconditionally for the revolutionary road to socialism in the industrialized imperialist countries as against the reformist electoral road defended by communist parties in Western Europe, Japan, North (America), Australia and New Zealand. When we say that (we are on the) revolutionary road, this does not mean (we are) partisans of putschism or adventurism, that (we believe) that a few hundred people here and a few hundred (there can) snatch power unexpectedly without anyone (taking) notice of it, in the advanced capitalist countries (where) the bourgeoisie represents tremendous power. (With its) political experience, it has the benefits of political (…) continuity. Its rule over these countries (does not) depend simply and solely upon its weapons (of repression) – its army and its police — but rather upon (the ideological) and political influence it still wields over (a large) part of the petty bourgeoisie and even among a (sector of the) working class itself.

(A clear and) uncompromising stand in favor of the revolutionary road to socialism essentially pivots around three points:

* (Firstly), objective situations independent of the will (or the) control of any group or party periodically create (revolutionary) situations in industrially advanced countries. (In these) moments of revolutionary mass upsurge, (objective situations) that unavoidably lead to large-scale (actions of the) working class such as general strikes and occupations which obviously go beyond the limits (of struggle for immediate) for wage demands and working (conditions). The duty of revolutionary parties (and groups of) the revolutionary vanguard is to prepare (themselves and the) best working-class militants to (intervene for) hours, days and weeks, for it is only (during these) periodic upsurges of the mass movement (that a chance) is presented to overthrow capitalist power. (You cannot) overthrow capitalism gradually, you cannot (destroy) the power of the bourgeois army battalion by battalion, you (cannot destroy) the power of the bourgeoisie piece by piece. (You can only) accomplish these aims through the revolutionary (mobilization) of the masses, and revolutionary (opportunities of this) sort are not possible every day when "business-as-usual" prevails. Revolutionary action is possible (only during) those pre-revolutionary situations when the (heat of class) relations is at its maximum and the class (conflict is) sharpest. A party, a vanguard and a class must (be prepared to) intervene at that juncture in a decisive (manner in) order to make a breakthrough toward the (taking of) power and a victorious socialist revolution.

* Secondly, if you want a develop a situation in which (the working) class wants to know what to do next, in (times when) conditions for revolution are favorable, you must (prepare) with prior propaganda, agitation and action for (all central) demands, especially for the key demand for (workers') control of production, which crowns all other (demands of the) working class in its struggle for power (in the) industrialized countries. To think that a working class (which has) been educated, day after day, month (after month), year after year, in nothing but immediate (union) demands and electoral politics will in some (mysterious) way suddenly become capable of revolutionary (consciousness) and action in a revolutionary situation (is to believe) in magic or miracles.

(Lenin said) that the ABC of a revolutionary policy and (the duty) of a revolutionary party is to conduct revolutionary propaganda also in periods that are not yet revolutionary. Lenin said that this is precisely what makes (the difference) between a revolutionary party and a reformist or a centrist party…

formist or a centrist party. When revolution does break out, many people suddenly discover their revolutionary soul. But a revolutionary party has the constant duty to propagandize for revolution even if the situation has not yet reached the point of showdown between the classes. Its work in this respect can be an influential factor in accelerating revolutionary consciousness.

● Thirdly, we believe that the struggle for transitional demands, for those demands which cannot be incorporated or assimilated into the normal functioning of bourgeois society should not be conducted solely by propagandistic means. Every opportunity should be taken to impel the working class into motion around such demands. They should be introduced into the ongoing daily struggle of the class by all avenues. Unless the workers acquire experience by fighting for these demands in partial struggles they will be unable to generalize their outlook at the height of revolutionary intensity. Otherwise these demands will appear to them as something that falls from the sky, that is imposed from without or advocated only by small minority groups.

I would like to ask Monty Johnstone how he squares the following quotation from Lenin regarding the obligations of a vanguard party with the course followed by the French Communist Party in May 1968. Lenin said:

> Will this situation last long; how much more acute will it become? Will it lead to revolution? This is something we do not know, and nobody can know. The answer can be provided only by the *experience* gained during the development of revolutionary sentiment and the transition to revolutionary action by the advanced class, the proletariat. There can be no talk in this connection about "illusions" or their repudiation, since no socialist has ever guaranteed that this war (and not the next one), that today's revolutionary situation (and not tomorrow's) will produce a revolution. What we are discussing is the indisputable and fundamental duty of all socialists—that of revealing to the masses the existence of a revolutionary situation, explaining its scope and depth, arousing the proletariat's revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary determination, helping it to go over to revolutionary action, and forming, for that purpose, organizations suited to the revolutionary situation.

Just compare that quotation, which breathes the spirit of genuine Bolshevism, with the conduct of the Communist parties of France, Italy, Greece, Belgium and other capitalist countries over the past twenty-five years (not to go still further back to the prewar period), especially with the conduct of the French CP in May 1968, and you will understand both the fundamentally reformist character of these parties and why thousands of young rebels are adhering to Trotskyism in these countries.

The third reason for the growth of Trotskyism today has to do with the crucial question of workers democracy. The main historical goal to be attained in those countries that have already abolished capitalism is the institution of democratically centralized workers self-management in opposition to the material privileges and the monopoly of political and economic power wielded by the bureaucracy. The bureaucratic rulers are the object of hatred by thousands of youth, critically minded intellectuals, and advanced workers in these postcapitalist states. That was graphically evidenced during those few months in the Czechoslovakia of 1968 when these elements of the population had the chance to speak out, at least in part, their real thoughts and feelings.

The bureaucratic regimes in these countries are one of the main reasons for the discrediting of the cause of socialism in the industrialized West which deters much larger numbers of students, intellectuals, and workers from coming out wholeheartedly in favor of a socialist revolution and communism.

What I am referring to is not a full-fledged socialist society, that is to say, a society without any social differentiation, where commodity production and money relations have withered away. Such conditions cannot exist in any of the East European countries today and that is not what is involved in our discussion of their political situation and problems.

What is both possible and urgently called for in the existing situation is what I call a political revolution, a set of changes in the superstructure of the system which would initiate or fulfill the elementary demands of the Marxist and Leninist program on the nature of a dictatorship of the proletariat, leading to the building of a socialist society. In none of the works by Marx or Engels will you find a single sentence, for example, which asserts that the dictatorship of the proletariat means the monopoly of power by a single party.

Nor will you find the slightest support for the abominable notion that the dictatorship of the proletariat means the application of a repressive censorship, not against nonexistent representatives of capitalism and landlordism, but against the working class. These practices have been introduced and implemented by Stalinism.

The invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Kremlin bureaucracy not only violated the sovereignty and independence of a small nation and a fraternal and allied workers state. It was equally criminal in other respects. It identified the suppression of democratic rights such as freedom of expression for workers, students and intellectuals, with the name of communism by taking away from the Czechoslovakian workers the rights they had regained between January and August 1968 to vote independently on resolutions, to have them published in their trade union journals, to criticize the government if they disagreed with its policies and to criticize the managers of their factories.

These were not very extensive rights and they were a far cry from the full-fledged socialist democracy they were entitled to and striving for. Lenin in *State and Revolution* says that under the dictatorship of the proletariat the workers should have a thousand-fold more freedom of self-expression and self-organization than they enjoyed under bourgeois democracy.

Nevertheless, even this elementary right was taken away and hundreds of thousands of soldiers were sent into the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for that purpose. That was a shameful disgrace. That is why we Trotskyists first have to reestablish what Marxism and Leninism really stand for, because the crimes of Stalinism have so distorted their true content in the minds of many workers.

Socialist democracy involves far more than the self-evident right of the workers to free expression without state censorship or penalties. Socialist democracy means the self-management of the working class on a democratically centralized basis. It means that the workers should run the factories not only as individual and separate units, but the economy as a whole. This requires the subordination of the national planning authorities to the congress of workers councils. It means that the mass of the working class actually exercises the power and determines through its discussions and decisions how the annual national income shall be divided between the consumption and the accumulation funds, that is, between what is used up and enjoyed for immediate needs, and what is set aside and reinvested for future growth.

Without the possession and exercise of such rights the working class does not really rule, whatever compliments

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the official propagandists may offer to console it for its lack or loss of power. It is because the Trotskyist program most consistently advocates such democratic rule of the workers that it is bound to win more forces in the Soviet Union and East Europe, where the underlying trends of development are more and more directed toward a political revolution by the masses against the arbitrariness of the bureaucratic autocracy.

Finally, Trotskyism is most noteworthy today for its uncompromising internationalism. After August 1914 and still more after October 1917, Lenin and the Bolsheviks set about to revive the principles and the instrument of internationalism which had been trampled upon by the prowar and pro-imperialist social democratic leaders. One of the most bitter fruits of the anti-Marxist theory of socialism in one country, which Stalin originated and imposed upon world Communism from 1924 on, was the violation and the betrayal of the international solidarity of the working-class struggle. This flouting of internationalism culminated in the scuttling of the Communist International by Stalin in 1943 as a favor to Churchill and Roosevelt.

Now the leaders and followers of international Stalinism are beginning to taste some more of these bitter fruits, which result from subordinating the welfare of the workers movement to the narrow and selfish dictates of the Kremlin bureaucracy. They see the appalling spectacle of the two largest workers states in the world at each other's throats, and even hinting at the possibilities of hostilities between each other. This situation has come about not because either the Soviet or the Chinese masses willed it, but because it is a logical consequence of the despicable petty bourgeois nationalist tendencies and outlooks that guide the bureaucratic strata at the head of these countries today.

The Soviet leaders have even gone so far as to encourage and allow so-called communist journalists to talk about "the yellow peril" and to depict the Chinese people as misled by "new Genghis Khans" and as a "menace to civilization." The fact that such utterly reactionary and racist utterances can come from a government and a party that still call themselves communist shows the degree of degeneration to which these organizations have succumbed.

At the height of its power, Stalinism boasted of the monolithic character of the world Communist movement which was bound together by ideological terror and enforced conformity. Now all that is passed. The last Moscow conference of the "World Communist Parties" demonstrated how far disintegration has proceeded. There are hardly two Communist parties which have any measure of autonomy today that think alike and pursue the same line.

They contend against one another and harbor all sorts of divergent tendencies and factions. One can count up to fifteen different "Communist" tendencies on a world scale. The Stalinists used to deride the Trotskyist movement in the past for being ridden by incessant factionalism and splits. They are silent on this score nowadays — and for good reason! None of the splits among the Trotskyists has been comparable to the gigantic fissures that have opened up in the international Communist movement and keep widening from year to year.

Confronted with the tremendous centralized power of the imperialist counterrevolution in the world arena, the youth and the revolutionaries on all continents keenly feel the need for an equivalent centralization of their own forces. They cannot believe that the polycentrism and decentralization that characterize world Stalinism — where the revolutionary movement and the working class in each country is left to its own devices and no one is concerned with the international interests and aims of the struggle for socialism — is ideal. They cannot believe this because it runs counter to the most urgent needs of the struggle of the working masses and to the traditions of Marxism and Leninism.

They were moved to respond so powerfully to Che Guevara's famous appeal for "two, three, many Vietnams" because it corresponded to their innermost urge for an international coordination of their anticolonialist, anti-imperialist, anticapitalist efforts. Che's final message was essentially a call for some central leadership for the world revolution.

'Trotskyism is ... internationalism.'

This explains why the idea of the Fourth International as a new revolutionary working-class organization carrying on the best traditions of Marxism, which so many dismissed as unreal and utopian, is capturing the minds and stirring the imagination of thousands of young people all over the globe. The socialist revolution cannot advance and certainly cannot triumph on a world scale without the resurgence of the need for a new revolutionary international impressing itself on the consciousness of serious fighters for a new world. The international we want to build and are building will be centralized, but it will not be bureaucratically centralized. It was the bureaucratic centralism of the Stalinist type, that fake centralism which had nothing in common with Lenin's conceptions of organizing the working-class vanguard, which spawned the disintegrated and reactionary tendencies at work in the world Communist movement today. History will prove that democratic centralism, with its freedom of discussion, is not an obstacle but the indispensable vehicle for elaborating a program and implementing united action against the class enemy.

These, then, are the four pillars of Trotskyism today: the theory and practice of the permanent revolution, the revolutionary road to socialism through working-class mass action in the advanced capitalist countries, political revolution for socialist democracy in the Soviet bloc and China, and proletarian internationalism. The Fourth International is a growing force on all of the continents because its fundamental ideas express the objective requirements of the world revolutionary process and carry on the ideas of Leninism, of socialism and communism in our epoch.